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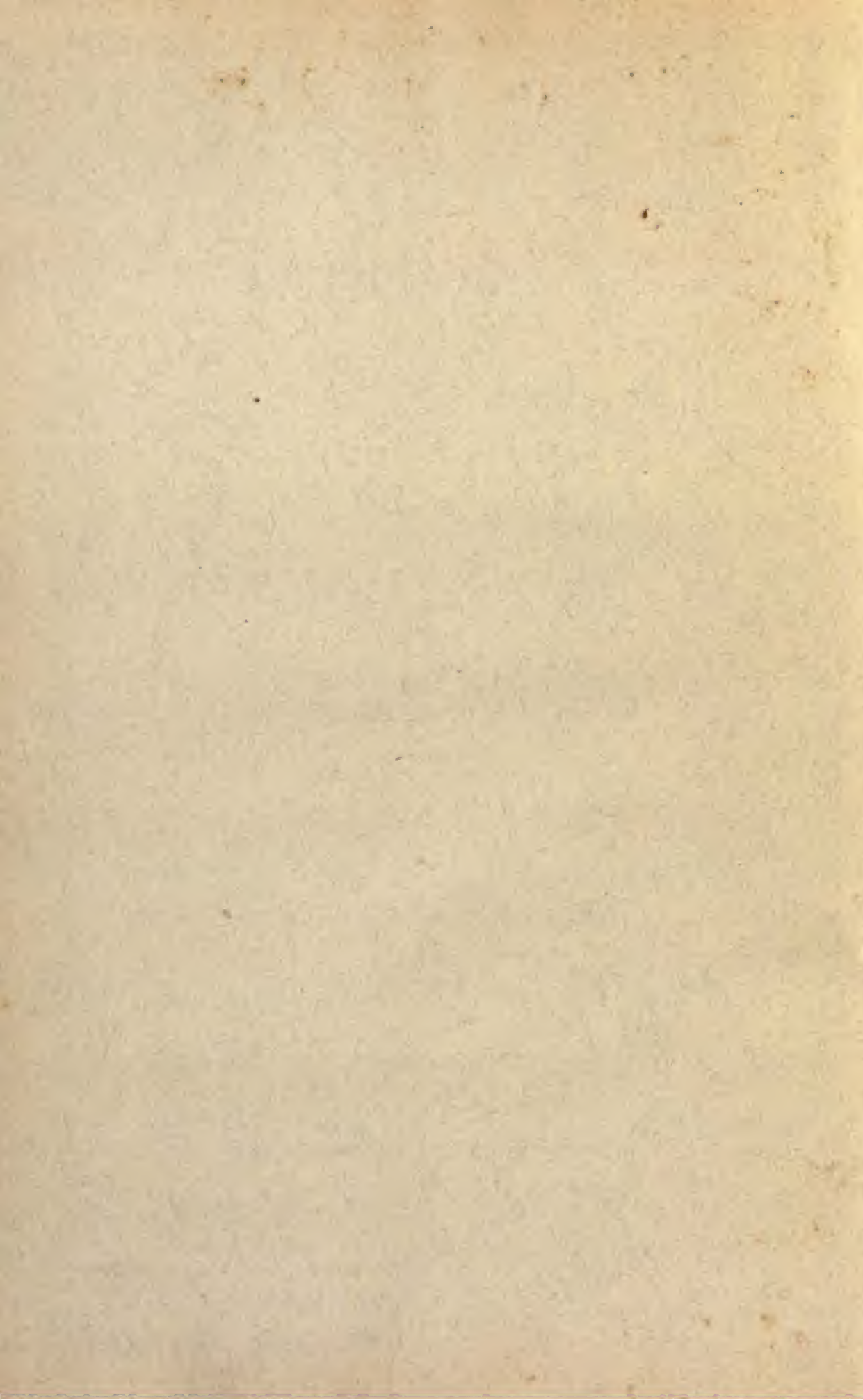
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THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES  
VOLUME LXX

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# THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES

VOLUME LXX

1950



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J. H. S.

PUBLISHED BY THE COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY  
FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

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## MEETINGS

### OF THE SESSION 1949-50

At the Inaugural Meeting of the Session, held on November 8th, 1949, Prof. R. J. H. Jenkins read a paper on 'The Historical Tradition of 9th Century Byzantium'.

A second General Meeting was held on Feb. 7th, 1950, and Prof. A. J. Toynbee read a paper on 'Greek History as a Key to World History'.

A third General Meeting was held on May 9th, 1950,

and Prof. H. D. F. Kitto read a paper on 'The Gods in Greek Poetry'.

The Annual Meeting took place on June 27th, 1950, with the President in the Chair. The Annual Report and Accounts were adopted. Prof. T. B. L. Webster was elected President. The Vice-Presidents and Members of Council were elected. The Hon. Auditor was re-elected. Prof. E. R. Dodds then delivered his Presidential address on 'The Greek Shamans and the Origins of Puritanism'.

# The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31, 1949.

<i>Liabilities.</i>			<i>Assets.</i>		
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Debts Payable .....			By Cash in Hand—		
“ Subscriptions paid in advance .....	2,177	13 0	“ Bank .....	729	9 7
“ Endowment Fund .....	66	3 0	“ Petty Cash .....	83	4 1
(includes Legacy of £180 from the late	2,779	12 0	Special Deposit Account (Donation from		
Prof. P. Gardner; £200 from the late			Arch. Inst. of America) .....	123	15 3
Canon Adam Farrar; £200 from the					
late Rev. H. Tozer; £500 from the			Debts Receivable .....	936	8 11
late Mr. G. A. MacMillan; £500 from			“ Investments at cost (valued December 31,	821	6 5
the late Lady Owen Mackenzie; £50			1949, £3,796 16s. 5d.) .....	3,525	0 0
from the late Sir George Hill; £100			“ Rates paid in advance .....	57	4 1
from the Cambridge Classical Society).			“ Library Premises Capital Account—		
“ Appeal Fund .....	200	0 0	“ Amount spent to date .....	5,584	13 10
“ Life Compositions—			“ Less Donations received .....	4,099	11 4
“ Total at January 1, 1949 .....	2,135	14 0			
“ Received during the year .....	15	15 0	Transferred to Income and Expenditure		
“ Less carried to Income and Expendi-	2,151	9 0	Account during past years .....	885	2 6
“ ture Account—Deceased Members	78	15 0		865	0 0
“ Library Purchases Fund (Donation from			Now transferred .....	20	2 6
Arch. Inst. of America)—					
“ Balance at January 1, 1949 .....	35	12 2	“ Estimated Valuation of Stocks of Publica-	300	0 0
“ Less utilised for Purchases in 1949 ...	35	12 2	“ Estimated Valuation of Library .....	1,500	0 0
“ Surplus at January 1, 1949 .....	299	1 7	“ Estimated Valuation of Photographic		
“ Less Deficit from Income and Expendi-	255	4 2	Department .....	200	0 0
“ ture Account .....					2,000 0 0
“ Surplus at December 31, 1949 .....	43	17 5			
					<u>£7,339 19 5</u>

I have audited the above Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Account and in my opinion the same exhibit a true and correct view of the Society's financial position according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me and as shown by the books of the Society.

LONDON,

May 5, 1950.

CYRIL T. EDGE,  
Chartered Accountant.



# The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1919.

<i>Expenditure.</i>				<i>Receipts.</i>					
£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.			
To Salaries .....			1,039	3	9	By Subscriptions received .....	1,480	14	4
" Pensions Insurance .....			15	0	0	" Income Tax recovered .....	203	8	6
" Miscellaneous Expenses .....			148	3	11				
" Stationery .....			84	5	11	" Life Compositions (Deceased Members), brought into Revenue .....	78	15	0
" Telephone and Postage .....			116	4	1	" Dividends on Investments .....	137	10	8
" Sundry Printing .....			158	10	11	" Contributions from the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies .....	300	0	0
" Heating, Lighting, Cleaning and Maintenance of Library Premises .....			472	14	7	" Sale of 'Ante Oculos' .....	2	12	6
" Insurance (General) .....			42	4	6	" Sale of 'Artemis Orthia' .....	10	4	8
" Grants— British School at Athens .....	10	0	0			" Balance from Lantern Slides and Photo- graphs Account .....	50	0	3
British School at Rome .....	5	5	0			" Balance from Premises Account .....	46	18	3
" Balance from 'Journal of Hellenic Studies' Account .....			15	5	0	" Excess of Expenditure over Income .....	255	4	2
" Balance from Library Account .....			419	18	3				
			53	19	5				
			<u>£2,565 10 4</u>						
							<u>£2,565 10 4</u>		



	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Estimated Cost of Vol. LXIX—						
Printing and Paper .....	395	0	0			
Drawings and Engravings .....	75	0	0			
Editing and Reviews .....	20	0	0			
Postage and Packing .....	60	0	0			
Excess Cost of Vols. LXVII and LXVIII over				550	0	0
Estimates .....				116	19	1
				<u>£666</u>	19	1

£666 19 1

# LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1949.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Slides for Hire .....	17	2	3			
<i>Balance to Income and Expenditure Account</i> .....	50	0	3			
	<u>£67</u>	2	6			

XV

# LIBRARY ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1949.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Binding and Sundry Purchases .....	92	0	2			
By Receipts from Sale of Catalogues, Duplicates, etc. ....				38	0	9
<i>Balance to Income and Expenditure Account</i> .....				53	19	5
	<u>£92</u>	0	2	<u>£92</u>	0	2

# PREMISES ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1949.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Rent .....	408	8	0			
Rates .....	225	11	3			
Transfer from Balance Sheet—proportion of Expenditure						
for the year .....	20	2	6			
<i>Balance to Income and Expenditure Account</i> .....	46	18	3			
	<u>£701</u>	0	0	<u>£701</u>	0	0





THE year 1949 has seen a great improvement in conditions in Greece. The Peloponnese and Central Greece have been completely cleared, and archaeological sites in the north can now be visited; excavation has been resumed by the Archaeological Society and the foreign schools. The Italian School has returned to activity with Dr. Doro Levi in charge. Funds have not yet radiated to the provinces, but the metropolitan museums are being restored and a fourth gallery has been opened in the National Museum; the Eleusis Museum is being put in order.

# ATHENS AND ATTICA

There is no news from the Acropolis apart from Prof. Orlandos' recent discovery that the cover tiles in every third row on the roof of the Parthenon were bigger than those in the intermediate ones.<sup>1</sup> Orlandos has secured and underpinned the wall and rock at weak points on the south side of the Acropolis, and has made considerable progress with the restoration of the orchestra pavement and cavea of the Odeum of Herodes. J. Travlos has cleared part of an establishment with handsome mosaic floors which preceded the Early Christian basilica by the Arch of Hadrian.

The *National Museum* has a number of important accessions of which Mrs. S. Karouzou gives an account. A well-preserved red-figured cylix with youths from the workshop of the Penthesilea Painter has been acquired from the old Skoloudis collection, together with small white-ground and r.f. lekythoi, a very fine fragment of a r.f. vase, other vases and figurines, and two folding mirrors with a woman's head on the cover. Corinthian alabastra and other interesting vases have been transferred from the duplicate sales department for exhibition, and a very fine cothon with rich polychrome decoration and fine incision has been presented by an American service. The whole of the Empedokles collection has been made over to the museum by the owner, who is now permanently resident abroad; members of his family have generously presented a number of first-rate red-figured fragments, of which the finest come from a delicate loutrophoros of the third quarter of the fifth century with boudoir scenes.

Additions to the bronzes are few but exceptional. A fine statuette of a naked youth with short hair and a wreath round his head has been brought from Kosmà near Sparta; it is of Laconian workmanship of about 500 B.C. The youth is in the posture of supplication, with his right hand stretched forward, while the size of the opening in his other hand suggests that he may have carried an animal as an offering. The figure is remarkably well preserved, and complete with its bronze base measures seven inches high. A bronze figurine of Athena Promachos, six inches high, has been discovered by Prof. Orlandos near the south-west corner of the Parthenon; it is of Attic workmanship of the last quarter of the sixth century (Inv. no. 16364).

The dedicatory relief from Kynosarges with a scene of sacrifice to Herakles has been presented to the museum by the American School.<sup>2</sup> Several gravestones of Roman date known from old publications have been bequeathed by Helen Kalliphronas, the best being the stele of Olympias.<sup>3</sup> Building operations in the suburbs of Athens west of the main-line railway station have brought to light two blocks of a striking relief no less than six and a half feet high, occupied by an unruly horse with a caparison of a panther's hide. The horse's mouth is open, and his forepart is modelled in high relief with the head partly in the round. At the horse's head in lower relief is a young negro groom with woolly hair and projecting cheek bones, who is trying to hold the beast in; traces of red paint are visible on the negro's hair,

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia Suppl.* VIII, 259 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Hesperia* XVII, 137 ff. Now Inv. no. 3952.

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<sup>3</sup> *Conze Attische Grabreliefs* Pl. 411.



while his flesh was painted black. It is an open question whether this is one of the latest fourth-century grave reliefs or rather a composition in the spatial manner of the second century B.C. R. V. Nicholls and the writer have identified among the Acropolis sherds some fragments of a nearly life-size terracotta goddess, probably seated, with designs on the drapery in a style not later than the middle of the seventh century.

Mrs. Stathatou's collection has been enriched by the acquisition of a remarkable bronze figurine of Hermes in the Arcadian manner which closely resembles the Boston Hermes, a large bronze statuette of a deer, and a steatite tripod vessel with a carved calf's head (Plate Ib) which is said to have been found in a grave in the Mesogcia together with Mycenaean mounted figurines.<sup>4</sup>

The fourteenth season of excavation at the *Agora* extended from April to June 1949 under Prof. Homer Thompson's direction. In the area to the west of the Areopagus, where houses and a dikasterion (identified by bronze dicasts' tickets) were uncovered in 1948,<sup>5</sup> exploration is now completed; Rodney Young has made a detailed study of this sector for publication in *Hesperia*. Two more graves have come to light in the angle formed by two early roads at the extreme north-west foot of the Areopagus. One is the cremation burial of a warrior of the early Geometric period. The charred bones were deposited in a large amphora which was accompanied by an oenochoe and three goblets; slightly higher up lay burnt fragments of a second oenochoe and a globular pyxis which had been broken on the pyre. The warrior's long iron sword had been bent into a hoop and laid like a wreath around the neck of the urn; two iron spear-heads, two knives, two chisels and a whetstone rested against its side. The second burial was that of a one-year-old child whose body had been laid in a large pithos together with eight small vases carefully decorated in middle Geometric style; outside the pithos stood a large kitchen pitcher blackened by fire. These two graves, together with that of a woman reported in 1948 (*JHS* LXVII, 35), form a small burial plot which may be regarded as a continuation of the scattered cemetery of the Protogeometric and Geometric periods that has been traced all along the north slope of the Areopagus.

The decision has been taken to rebuild the Stoa of Attalus as a museum; it will be rebuilt under the E.C.A. programme, and the work will be directed by the American School with Travlos as supervising architect. Piraeus limestone and white and blue marble will be used as in the original building. Large-scale preparations have been carried out this year, and important discoveries have been made in the clearing of the ground. It has now been possible to examine the foundations of a large structure underlying the north part of the stoa and over eleven feet lower down; it centres round a colonnaded courtyard about 140 feet square with a carefully prepared floor of red clay, and is dated in the third quarter of the fourth century. The scheme and size of the building would accord well with its identification as a palaestra. Remains of an earlier building of the late fifth or early fourth century have come to light below this; it, too, had a carefully prepared and well-trodden floor, and in addition a stone basin which may have served as a footbath. These early buildings beneath the Stoa of Attalus will illuminate the early history of the gymnasium and the ephebate in Athens; they are also of capital importance for our knowledge of the early scheme of the *Agora* square.

It has for years been a matter of regret that the American excavators were prevented by the electric railway from going to the Stoa Poikile, and it is therefore especially satisfactory that the stoa has come to them. In the demolition of a wall of the late Roman period to the west of the Stoa of Attalus many fragments of an early building came to light, all of poros and comprising parts of all the members of a Doric order slightly smaller in scale than the Theseum, together with a small piece of an Ionic column base. The profiles of the mouldings and the painted bands of lotus and palmette, still brilliant in colour, indicate a date in the second quarter of the fifth century B.C. (Fig. 1). The foundations of the building have not yet been discovered,

<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Stathatou points out the likeness of this vessel to one from a latest Mycenaean tomb at Ialysos (*Annuario*

XIII-XIV, 276 ff., Pl. 20).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *JHS* LXVII, 34 f., Pl. 12 c.





FIG. 1.—ATHENS. ANTA CAPITAL FROM STOA POIKILE.



FIG. 2.—HEAD OF TRITON NOW IN AGORA.



FIG. 3.—PROTOGEOMETRIC POTTERY FROM NEA IONIA.

but since so many of its members came to light in the north-east corner of the square it presumably stood nearby and can hardly have been other than the Stoa Poikile. Iron pins, of which several remain, set at close intervals and in a regular pattern in the face of the wall blocks may have sustained the wooden panels on which Polygnotus and his contemporaries executed the great paintings which gave the building its familiar name.



The finds of the season include an inscription of the early fourth century B.C. recording the sale of confiscated property, a marble head of a young man of the late Roman period, fragments from two calyx craters by the Kleophrades Painter (both apparently with the Ransoming of Hector theme), and an attractive oenochoe with a descending Nike (Plate IIb). Among the newly discovered clay impressions of fine metalwork is a fourth-century B.C. piece showing a helmeted youth in a reclining posture (Plate Id). Homer Thompson's recent study of the colossal second-century A.D. figures of the Stoa of the Giants and their dependence on the Parthenon pediments has been rewarded by the return to the Agora, and to its proper shoulders, of the head of one of the Tritons which was found in Eleusis more than half a century ago (Fig. 2).

Prof. Orlandos has carried out minor repairs at the Byzantine monasteries of *Daphni* and *Kaisariani*, and rebuilt the porch and restored the twelfth-century templon of the church of *Daou Pendeli*. J. Papademetriou, newly appointed ephor of Attica, has discovered the terrace of a rich sanctuary in marshy ground at *Vrðona*, the ancient Brauron; a temple and treasury are being excavated, and fine red-figured sherds have been found. At *Néa Ionia* in the ancient deme of Daidalidai four miles north of Athens Papademetriou has excavated a small elliptical grave enclosure of about the tenth century B.C. hemmed in among modern quarries. Graves, properly speaking, were not to be found, but the funeral pyres were cleared and found to contain numerous sherds of lekythoi, pyxides, and oenochoes, and amphorae in the rock-cut pits contained ashes and bronze fibulae, etc. The vases are late Protogeometric in style (Fig. 3); the most notable are the miniature chest with two compartments illustrated here and an unusual open crater nineteen inches in diameter at the mouth. This plot seems to be a continuation of a Mycenaean cemetery on the hilltop.<sup>6</sup> J. Leatham and students of the British School have found Mycenaean remains on the island at *Pórtó Ráfti* and Early Helladic pottery on a denuded settlement site on the peninsula behind the village.

#### THE PELOPONNESE

Progress has been made at *Corinth* with studies preparatory to the publication of the finds from the North Cemetery and the volumes devoted to sculpture and the inscriptions discovered since 1926.<sup>7</sup> R. S. Scranton has conducted limited excavations in the area of the North Stoa and the North Market. The stoa shows several building periods, the best preserved part being datable to the end of the fourth century B.C. when rectangular piers took the place of columns. The eastern part of the stoa has now been recognised as a separate building; it is apparently a hot bath contemporary with the stoa or slightly earlier. This complex of stoa and bath, together with an enclosed area on the north, may have formed a sort of palaestra for the ephebes of Corinth. Soundings have recovered the line of the northern boundary of the market, which now appears as a rectangular space surrounded on all sides by shops like those already discovered on the south and west; the market was originally laid down in the first half of the first century A.D.

Early in September 1949 a small excavation was undertaken at the *Argive Heraeum* by J. L. Caskey of the American School and P. Amandry of the French School, with the object of investigating a deposit of archaic pottery previously detected by Amandry on the slope of the hill below the East Building. Over nine hundred miniature pots, the majority more or less complete, and fragments of several hundred others were recovered, all being grouped close together in a small space but apparently not buried in a pit or any sort of enclosure. In the same layer were found bronze phialai, small disks, and pins in great number; many fragments of iron rods, a few stone seals, and some figurines and other terracotta objects. The most interesting piece is the lower half of a small bronze kouros discovered by Amandry. J.

<sup>6</sup> I am indebted to Mr. Papademetriou for this notice.

<sup>7</sup> Mr. J. L. Caskey has kindly supplied reports on Corinth

and the Argive Heraeum.



Papademetriou has discovered interesting relics of an archaic shrine on a hill-top above *Epidauros*.

The British School carried out small excavations in the autumn of 1949 in *Sparta* and on the site of the Eleusinion at *Kalývia Sokhàs* under Taygetus. The excavation in *Sparta* was undertaken on behalf of the Greek Antiquities Department with a view to testing the plot between the modern city and the acropolis on which the municipality is proposing to construct a stadium. Deep-level soundings were made and gave evidence of regular occupation in late Roman to early mediaeval times and earlier levels going back to the archaic period. A commodious building of the third-fifth centuries A.D., which had been detected in trenches cut by Ph. Stavropoulos earlier in the year, was cleared over a sizeable area; the floors, with geometrical mosaics in five colours, seem to have continued in use when the house was rebuilt on a somewhat different plan. At *Kalývia Sokhàs* the collapse of the rebel movement has enabled the British School to complete the investigation of the remains of the Eleusinion which had been washed out by a flood in 1947.<sup>8</sup> Fragments of marble furniture and a number of inscriptions have been recovered. Trenching in the torrent bed brought to light a marble kerb with the dedications *KYMBADΔEΙΑΤΑΙΔΑΜΑΤΡΙ* and *KYMBADΔEΙΑΤΑΙΚΟΠΑΙ*. This construction rests on virgin soil, and it is doubtful whether any of the buildings on this part of the site are appreciably older than Hellenistic. At *Mystrà* Orlandos has renewed the roof of the *Afendikòn*.

#### CENTRAL AND NORTHERN GREECE

The work of the French School at *Delphi* has been directed towards the preparation of sculptural, epigraphical, and architectural volumes of the *Fouilles de Delphes*. The most notable discoveries include the identification of the base of the statue of Nikostratos of Larissa, who is honoured in the decree *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 613, of the primitive inscription, running from right to left, of the dedication by the Tarantines of a group of statues to celebrate a victory over the Peucetians (Paus. X. 13. 10), of a decree granting *promanteia* to the Aetolians in the archonship of Sarpedon during the last quarter of the fourth century B.C., and of the base of an offering made by Dropion, king of the Pacones, who also dedicated a bronze bison's head (Paus. X. 13. 1). The arrangement of the pavement and interior colonnade in the cella of the temple of Apollo has been determined, and the latest of the treasuries, that of Cyrene, which dates to the middle of the fourth century B.C., has been fully studied. Many joins have been made among the sculptured fragments of the metopes of the tholos in the sanctuary of Athena Pronaia.<sup>9</sup>

Activity in the north has been continuous in spite of difficult conditions until the last few months. In *Salonica* Kh. Makaronas has carried out an excavation during the summer of 1949 at *Syndriváni*, of which he communicates the following report. The aim was to uncover a complex of sarcophagi of which two had been excavated by Kotzias in 1940.<sup>10</sup> Seven further sarcophagi of the second-third centuries A.D. have been brought to light. All had been rifled; two marble ones with inscriptions are undamaged, and a third in granite has richly carved garland decoration. The only small find was a gold earring set with an emerald. The adjacent graveyard of the same date has also been excavated and yielded built tombs in a variety of types. The commonest type consists of a square construction of two and a half to three metres side; the outer faces of the walls were plastered with cement, which proves that the tombs were intended to stand above ground level; there is no evidence for the roofing. Inside at a depth generally of about 70 cm. is a floor of unworked slabs with stucco, which cover an oblong built ossuary likewise stuccoed and in one case scored in imitation of orthostates. The scheme of these tombs reminds one of the heroon of Alyzia described by Romaïos.<sup>11</sup> In one of these tombs a unique arrangement for the passage of liquid offerings was found. In the floor of the tomb was a square hole covered by a marble slab; the shaft under the slab was square in

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *JHS* LXVII, 39 f.

<sup>9</sup> M. P. Amandry has kindly communicated this and the other reports on the work of the French School.

<sup>10</sup> *AA* 1942, 160 ff. figs. 32 f.

<sup>11</sup> *AE* 1930, 141 ff.



section and blocked lower down by another slab with a small hole in the middle; the shaft finally terminated in unworked blocks covering a small built ossuary 43 by 110 cm. The finds from this cemetery include a relief of a hoplite, four funerary inscriptions, and a variety of cheap offerings. About a mile west of Salonica by the Langadà road a cylindrical milestone has come to light; it has inscriptions in Greek, and the names of emperors and caesars, which appear to indicate that they were cut on three separate occasions between A.D. 284 and 305.

The restoration of the Basilica of St. Demetrios has made great progress; the ceremony of consecration was held on St. Demetrios' day 1948, and the floor and marble revetments are now being replaced. Prof. G. Soteriou has carried out supplementary excavations and solved remaining problems of the earlier building stages. Mr. G. U. S. Corbett has been working on the completion of the plans of the building for an Anglo-Hellenic publication of the church. Styl. Pelekanidis has restored the church of St. Catherine.

There is little to report from Thrace. On the *Holy Mountain* the Antiquities Service has been repairing the tower of the monastery of Stavroniketa, and Pelekanidis is undertaking the cleaning and publication of the wall paintings of the Protaton which includes the original work by Panselenos. Pelekanidis is also engaged in repairing the churches of *Kastorià* in Western Macedonia; three churches, including the bomb-damaged Koubelitiki, have been restored: two Early Christian basilicas have come to light there, which are all the more significant since no others are known in Western Macedonia save one at Voskhokhórion.

A notable find of recent years is that of a marble bust of a young man at *Ano Kopanòs* near Náoussa; it is of fine workmanship, with a wealth of hair and carved pupils to the eyes, and is dated to the second half of the second century A.D.; the name Olganos inscribed on the base lends colour to the late tradition which attributes a son of that name to the mythical king Beres, founder of Beroea. *Vérria* (Beroea) itself continues to yield new finds.<sup>12</sup> At Elià on the west edge of the town a pedimental stele 126 cm. high was found in 1948; it records the gift by the ephebearch Statius Antigonus of five hundred denarii to supply *ἐλαιμυα* for the ephebes; the names of the superintendent of this supply, Aurelianos Preimos, and twenty-five ephebes are given. The inscription is dated A.D. 177-8. Another stele was found at the same place in 1949; it is of marble, 170 cm. high and inscribed on both faces with a total of 214 lines averaging sixty letters each. It dates to the second century B.C., and gives the *γυμνασιάρχικὸς νόμος* of the city. The preamble of the decree, which was proposed in the *ekklesia* of the *demos* by the gymnasiarch Zopyros Amyntas and two other citizens, is quite legible for the first twenty-five lines; unfortunately the rest of this face is badly damaged. The other side is well preserved. Apart from the oath given by the gymnasiarch, the topics are: the gymnasiarch's rights and responsibilities, the supervision and control of *paidotribai* and *paidagogoi*, the procedure at the festival of the Hermaia with the sacrifices and games that went with it, and the rendering of accounts by the retiring gymnasiarch. The passages on the subject of cults, administration, magistrates and law-court procedure should prove especially illuminating.

From the Dikasterion Square in Vérria come a fine first-century A.D. marble head of a woman with the himation worn as a veil, which came to light in a Roman fill, and an arched dedicatory stele of late Roman times showing a facing Asklepios and a female figure (Hygieia?) in relief. At Mouarif, where a sarcophagus fragment with a Nereid on a dolphin came to light in 1947,<sup>13</sup> Kallipolitis in 1948 excavated four box-shaped tombs which form part of an extensive cemetery of Roman times.<sup>14</sup> One of the tombs was built of baked bricks 55 by 50 by 7 cm. in size; the others are of marble or limestone blocks. Only one tomb contained offerings, which consisted of two high-necked glass aryballoi, a glass tube containing a black cosmetic, a circular bronze mirror, and bronze coins apparently to be assigned to the reigns of Elagabalus, Alexander Severus, and Gordian. At Mýloi to the north-west of the town a rock-cut vaulted chamber tomb has come to light which seems to carry the tradition of Macedonian tombs down into the end of the Hellenistic era.

<sup>12</sup> The reports from Náoussa, Vérria and Kozáni are due to the kindness of Mr. B. Kallipolitis.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *BCH* LXXI-II, 438.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *AA* 1940, 272.



Kallipolitis has excavated a number of tombs at *Kozáni* where the new Véria road leaves the town. One, with simple vertical sides, was found in 1948 and produced two skeletons laid from north to south, six iron spear-heads, a bronze helmet of a type already known in Western Macedonia,<sup>15</sup> two gold bracelets of which one ends in snakes' heads, and some plain vases. In September 1949 Kallipolitis investigated other rock-cut tombs here. A collapsed one was found unspoiled; it had a ledge on either side which presumably had carried a roof of planks; no trace of wood was found, and the damp had dissolved every trace of the skeleton except for a white stain in the earth. The tomb contained a pair of gold earrings terminating in lions' heads, a bronze phiale and oenochoe with acanthus-stalk handle, black-glazed ware and plain vases with floral decoration, and a silver didrachm of Alexander probably struck at the Amphipolis mint in 330-329 B.C.; the burial should date to the end of the fourth century. The neighbouring tombs are of similar date. Among the finds are a sword with two repoussé gold plates at the base of the hilt with a conventional tree pattern, a bronze helmet of Illyrian type, a bronze situla with double handle, jewellery, and vases of local fabrics. The most remarkable single find is the silver phiale mesomphalos illustrated in Plate Ic together with a silver cylix; the phiale, which is decorated with bud and palmette ornament, bears on the outside the dedication

τὰς Ἀθαναίας ἱερὰ τὰς Μηγαραί.

It dates to the beginning of the fifth century B.C. and must have been brought there from Megara as a trophy.

#### THE ISLANDS

On *Thasos* the French School has proceeded with the uncovering of the *aule* of the Agora; a plan of the Agora in the light of excavations up to 1948 is shown in Fig. 4. A row of bases has been cleared in front of the north-west stoa, part of which is earlier than the stoa and set at an oblique angle to it; and a rectangular altar and a small building have been discovered in an enclosure which was bounded by a fence of marble posts with wooden bars. The tholos has been cleared, and the excavators have found a circular *eskhara* with a ring for attaching the victims and two large drains traversing the square. The remains of an earlier building in polygonal masonry have been discovered under the Hellenistic ground level of the Agora; it had a number of rooms whose arrangement recalls that of the building with *oikoi* in the Herakleion of Thasos. A mutilated archaic kore's head (Plate Ia), some fine red-figured sherds and bronze coins have come to light; also various inscriptions, including a dedication to a hero and fragments of a fourth-century B.C. catalogue of victories of the athlete Theogenes. The Early Christian basilica, whose visible remains disappeared during the Bulgarian occupation, has been dug down to the foundations and the plan has been recovered; it dates to the fifth century A.D. To the north-east of this a house of Hadrianic times with a central court paved in geometrical and floral mosaic has been discovered; this house and part of the basilica were built over the remains of a huge building of Augustan date, perhaps a warehouse, which was destroyed by fire.

K. Lehmann has continued his excavations on *Samothrace*. N. Kondoleon has discovered on *Paros* an inscription relating to Archilochus.

The French School has been active on *Delos*. The traces of habitation which preceded the founding of the cult of Apollo have now been cleared; detached houses and a more important complex of rooms grouped round a paved court have come to light. In the main the pottery dates to Late Helladic 3, but the first occupation goes back to pre-Mycenaean times. The line of a fortification wall built by the legate Triarius has been traced between the theatre and the north-east gate of the sanctuary. In a salient of the wall in the middle Inopos valley a three-storied structure has been uncovered. The corbelled staircases leading to the two land-

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *AE* 1932, 131 figs. 90 f.



ings have been disclosed, also a mosaic in *opus segmentatum*, a niche with a stuccoed bench, a dedication by Dionysios Pakonios Ἐφεῖ καὶ συνέθεσι, and a perfectly preserved Hellenistic marble head of Hermes. The clearing of the Lake Palaestra, whose eastern part had been built over by the wall of Triarius, has continued; it appears that the first palaestra, which overlies an archaic building, was built in the amphictyonic period and was remodelled with the addition of porticoes on three sides between 284 and 274 B.C.; it was completely reconstructed in the second half of the second century B.C. and destroyed in 69 B.C. In the uncovering of a house with geometrical mosaics on the shore west of the Terrace of the Lions a long inscription of the

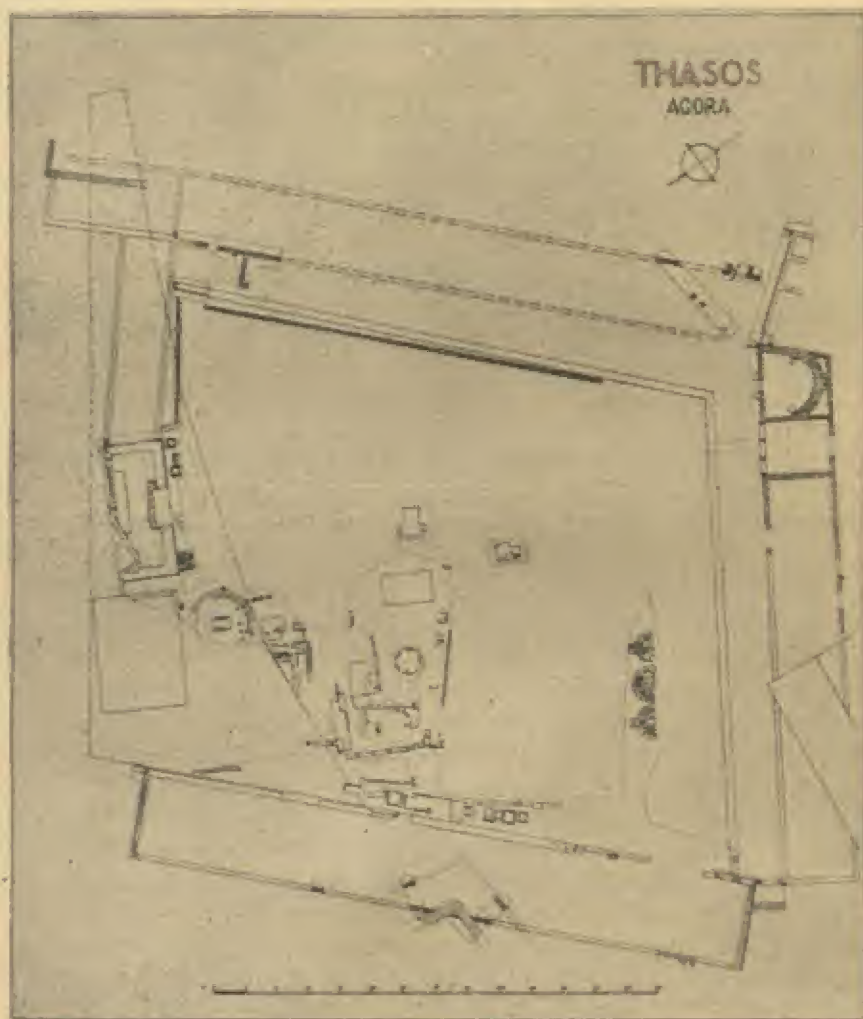


FIG. 4.—THASOS. PLAN OF AGORA.

second century B.C. defining the duties of the Athenian epimelete in Delos has come to light. The archaic, classical, and Hellenistic sculpture and the Dodekatheon and sanctuary of the Syrian gods have been prepared for publication; during the work on the former many joins have been made resulting in the completion of the statue of Apollo Citharoedus, of one of the Muses from the theatre, and of five korai.

Miss S. Benton has continued her work on the finds from her excavation at Aetòs in *Ithaca* and has made up many more vases; one of these, a crater in the local Geometric style, is shown in Fig. 5. Miss Benton has also arranged a provisional exhibition of the finds in the museum at Vathy. A portrait head of Julio-Claudian date has recently appeared in the same museum.



There has been limited activity in *Crete*. At *Knossos* P. de Jong has made considerable progress with repairs to the Palace of Minos, and has carried out a small excavation in a field east of, and adjoining, 'Hogarth's Houses', in consequence of exposure by ploughing of two gypsum blocks which proved to be house walls. A terracotta figurine (head and shoulders only) of LM 2 date, and a marble pommel of a dagger of the same period were found, but examination of the site is still not complete. The Greek Antiquities Service has recovered a number of small objects and 482 coins carried off from Crete by General Ringel, but has not been able to trace the sculptures taken from Gortyn. The labyrinth of *Gortyn*, which had been damaged by German demolitions, has been reopened by the Greek army; the galleries of the interior have not been seriously damaged. N. Platon has excavated an Early Christian basilica at *Panormos* near Eleutherna; its construction and acme are dated in the fifth century A.D.; it had a tomb beneath the chancel, approached by an arched door under the floor, and a women's gallery above the aisles. Platon concludes that the diocesan see, which in middle



FIG. 5.—GEOMETRIC CRATER IN ITHACA.

Byzantine times was re-named Aulopotamos, had already in the fifth century been transferred from Eleutherna to Panormos.<sup>16</sup> The French School has continued its excavations at *Mállia* and uncovered three Minoan houses near the palace; one of them, which continued to be occupied until the Late Minoan 3b period, offers the first evidence of reoccupation on the site of the Minoan city in the post-palatial epoch; among a large number of vases found in the magazines of another house is one, of LM 1b-LM 2 date, with nautilus decoration—the first of its kind to come to light at *Mállia*. H. Gallet de Santerre has written a brief account of the history of this important Minoan centre.<sup>17</sup>

Various chance finds in 1948, including that of two unusually large steatite pedestal lamps which has led to the recognition of an important Minoan megaron or group of megara at *Arkhánes* behind *Knossos*, are reported by Platon in *Κρητικά Χρονικά* II. 584 ff.; the remarkable inscribed stele found at *Fortétsa* near *Knossos* referred to in a previous issue is now fully published by Platon *ib.* 93 ff.; it is in dialect and pronounces the exclusion of outsiders from a shrine (presumably that of *Artemis Skopelitis*) and the assumption of arbitrary powers by the citharist; Platon dates it in the second century B.C. Platon contributes in the same journal articles on the topography and history of Cretan sites and publishes a notebook of *Xanthoudidis*' which contains observations in the field and references to the discovery of the Boston gold and ivory statuette.

<sup>16</sup> See *Κρητικά Χρονικά* II. 586 ff.

<sup>17</sup> *Κρητικά Χρονικά* III, 363 ff.



## TURKEY

The Anglo-Turkish excavation at *Old Smyrna* begun in 1948 was continued in May-July 1949. The principal task undertaken was the clearing of a sector about 95 feet by 80 feet in the inhabited quarter on the north side of the site. At plough-level the foundations of a block of fourth-century houses were uncovered; in the higher part of the trench, where the remains were better preserved, two main levels were distinguished. The houses, like those discovered last year, were cramped and poorly built; many fragments of roof-tiles and wine-amphorae were found among the foundations. Within the block was a yard containing a well, which has been dug out to two feet below the modern sea-level where large pieces of the pinewood frame supporting the stone shaft were found in good condition; a number of fragments from the bottom of wine-amphorae found in the water still contain a hard sediment of resin sufficient to give the strong tonic flavour which distinguishes the wines of Greece to the present day. This complex of houses, like that excavated last year, seems to have been built in the late fifth century; as yet no building traces can be attributed with certainty to the preceding hundred years, but some signs of occupation in this period have been noted, including the discovery of fragments making up the greater part of the neck of a volute-crater painter by the Niobid Painter.

Under the fourth-century levels lies a sixth-century housing estate, whose walls are preserved to an average height of about three feet. A number of small buildings can be identified, with doorways opening on to yards which are sometimes flagged. The houses were less spacious than those of the seventh century but sturdily built. A view of part of this sector is given in Fig. 6, where re-used seventh-century foundations can be seen behind the sighting pole on the right. A sixth-century stratum was also found in one of last season's soundings which was dug down this year to the seventh-century floor level. A house had been built here in the sixth century on a diagonal axis to that of the seventh-century walls, and cut down into the earlier floor level; it was divided by a partition wall built of large mud bricks, and had doors (one blocked up with bricks) leading on to cobbled streets on two adjacent sides; a covered drain ran down the side of one of the streets. Inside the house was a small stone-lined hearth sunk in the floor with fire-irons and other gear lying around it. This house was burnt down in the middle years of the sixth century. A number of fragmentary vases were found here which had been blackened and distorted in the fire, among them an Attic stander crater with arched handles, bearing five zones of animals, and on the *piano nobile* a picture of the Marriage of Helen and Menelaos—a scene hitherto little recognized in vase-painting. The crater came from the workshop of Sophilos and takes a central position in his work close to the signed crater fragments from the Acropolis and the Marathon amphora.<sup>18</sup> A curious feature of the sixth-century levels was the large number of shallow unlined pits in which some of the best Ionic black-figured vase-fragments were found. These included a 'Clazomenian' drinking-horn terminating in a plastic ram's head and a number of fragments of classes of vases which have not hitherto been distinguished; one of the most remarkable of the vases is a crater with a picture of a hairy man leading a bituberous camel, another fragment comes from a closed vase, perhaps of Aeolic manufacture, on which was painted the combat of Achilles and Memnon. Some fragments of Laconian ware have been found and substantial pieces of a number of Naucratic chalices which indicate that the 'Orientalising' outline style was still in vogue in the middle years of the sixth century. Attic black figure cups are also well represented. No monumental inscriptions have been found; the two longest graffiti on vases appear to be in barbarian. Vigorous habitation on the site in the sixth century seems to have been shortlived.

In the new excavation in the north sector the seventh-century habitations still await disengagement except in one corner where the archaic levels had been denuded. Here a small private bathroom of the late seventh century has been cleared; it was a stone-built shaft sunk into the

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Mrs. S. Karouzou's list in *AM* LXII, 133 f.



ground with a short monolith staircase leading down into it from the outer ground level and two niches in the walls (Fig. 7). The bath itself is of terracotta, and was broken into many pieces in the sack but has been restored; it is about four feet long with a barrel-shaped bottom and a sump



FIG. 6.—OLD SMYRNA. DETAIL OF SIXTH-CENTURY HOUSE COMPLEX FROM SOUTH: FOURTH-CENTURY WALL IN CENTRE.

with two plug-holes at the foot; a piece of an earlier bath was found incorporated in a repaired wall of the bathroom. Beside the ruins of the bath lay the fragments of a Chian one-handled ewer with linear decoration, which may have been used for pouring water over the bathers. Fragments of six or seven other baths have been found in the course of the season's excavations; the majority are of the seventh century and show how large a part the old ἀσάμινθος played in the life of the early people of Smyrna. A hundred yards to the east, in the biggest of last year's soundings, a late seventh-century house has been cleared; the lower-lying part was practically destroyed in the construction of the sixth-century 'Burnt House'; a wall of the upper part of the house was illustrated in *JHS* LXVII, 42, fig. 6. In some places the mud-brick can still be seen sitting in position on the stone walls, and at one point courses of matting were detected which separated the layers of brick. In the destruction levels on the site a number of jars and jugs with linear decoration have been assembled and a few vases decorated in the Orientalizing figure style (both outline and incised)—among them the Wild Goat style oenochoe shown in Pl. IIa. Once again fragments of Early Corinthian vases were found in the destruction levels.

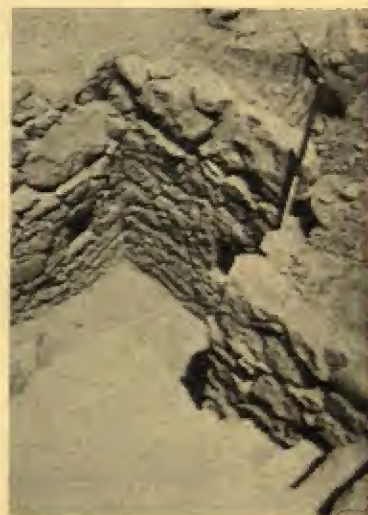


FIG. 7.—BATHROOM AT OLD SMYRNA.

Soundings were made at many points to locate the city wall. Its general line has been ascertained from the south corner of the site along the east to the middle of the north side; a hundred yards farther along a high-stepped platform seems to continue the line of the wall, and may have been constructed as a *glacis* where the escarpment was high and steep. On the west side near the neck of rock which joined



the hill to the mainland a cambered causeway has come to light about the modern water level, but it has not been dated back beyond the fourth century. A stretch of massive archaic wall has been revealed in a very successful excavation by the Monopoly Wine Company which was primarily undertaken for the improvement of their vineyards, but was allowed to contribute much to our knowledge of the site. This wall lies on the rocky isthmus and may perhaps have flanked the main entrance to the city; it is built in the 'Lesbian' style, most blocks having five edges of which at least one is curved. On the east side the city wall has been tested at various points and two sections have been cut across it. The long stretch which the Miltner followed<sup>19</sup> is the outer face of a wall of the late seventh century which seems to incorporate in its rubble and mud-brick filling an earlier wall with a filling of smaller bricks. A late Geometric level was touched on the inside of the wall; the pottery included an amphora which presents a flotilla of fishes in one panel and two owls and a goose in the other (Fig. 8). At the north-east corner, where the outer faces of the two walls are farther apart, the face of the earlier wall has been exposed; the lower part of the wall face was built of roughly shaped andesite blocks and carried a superstructure of sawn ashlar in a soft limestone which has been squashed under the weight of modern terrace walls (Fig. 9). When the outer wall was built the face of the earlier wall was bricked up. Soundings for the city wall on the north side of the city a short distance from the north-east corner revealed a platform in whose revetment towards the city wall three unfinished column drums had been laid; the excellent finish of the walls that flank this platform suggests that a public building once stood on it. A shallow sounding there uncovered a small cache of faience, ivory, and amber objects, together with fragments of small Corinthian vases of the second half of the seventh century.

Little work was done in the graveyard this year, though surface examination has shown that the cemetery extends considerably farther to both flanks than had hitherto been supposed. Various sarcophagus-burials have been noted, but only one sizeable figured fragment was recovered. More signs of burials of the village period have been found, but there is still no trace of a single grave of the time before the sack.

One of the two soundings of the 1948 campaign, in which Bronze Age strata had been penetrated, was carried deeper through a succession of second-millennium levels. The sounding was continued in water in a part of the trench, but had to be abandoned at nearly three feet below sea-level where pot-sherds were particularly dense. The discovery of a fiddle-shaped marble idol at sea-level suggests that the culture here, which yields little else but brown and grey monochrome pottery, should reach back to the beginning of the second millennium. Another sounding was opened near the 'isthmus' where living rock had been detected, with a view to discovering the earliest occupation on the site at a point where it had not become waterlogged through the sinking of the coast. A sequence of third-millennium levels was uncovered with three firm building stages and hand-made pottery showing connections with Troy I and II and the Anatolian Copper Age. The middle level contained a building with low walls stoutly built of water-washed stones on which a number of courses of mud brick can still be detected; one room, separated off by a mud-brick party wall, had plastered walls and floor. Two faces from wide-mouthed wheel-made face urns were found in the vicinity of this sounding; together with other sherds casually discovered here they seem to be debris from eroded levels of the turn from the third to the second millennium.

The joint excavating party also made reconnaissances round Smyrna and found further traces of late prehistoric settlement at Gryneion and at Bağlar Tepe and Eğrigöl Tepe in the lower Kaikos valley, and a third millennium site at Akhaion Limen on the Elaitic Gulf; at Aeolic Kyme the foundations of two buildings, probably temples, have been noted. A collection of pottery from Ionic and Aeolic sites is being formed in the Izmir Museum. A handsome polychrome mosaic from Kadife Kale, the Pagos of Smyrna, has been brought into the museum.

<sup>19</sup> *Öjh XXVII, Beibl.*, 162 ff.



Arif Müfid Mansel has continued his excavations at *Side* in Pamphylia.

M. Akok has published the recent excavation of mixo-barbarous tumuli near *Samsun*, and W. Ruben illustrates some late Greek inscriptions from *Phrygia* (*Belleten* xii. 835 ff.; *ib.* Pl. 41 ff.).

#### CYPRUS

Mr. A. H. S. Megaw, Director of Antiquities of Cyprus, kindly communicates the following notice.

There has been no excavation on Neolithic sites, but the Curium Expedition (University of Pennsylvania Museum) have decided to resume work at the Sotira site following the trials carried out by P. Dikaïos on their behalf (*JHS* LXVI, 120). Dikaïos' report on his excavations at Khirokitia is in the press. Vases of the Philia type with Anatolian connections (*ILN*, March 1946, 245) figure among pottery which has reached the Cyprus Museum from tombs clandestinely excavated at the locality Ammos, on the Ovgos river about half-way between Philia and the sea. A number of Early Bronze Age tombs came to light during building operations in the *Ayia Paraskevi* cemetery near Nicosia and in the village of *Kalavassos*. They were excavated by the Department of



FIG. 8.—OLD SMYRNA. EARLY SEVENTH-CENTURY JAR FROM CITY WALL.



FIG. 9.—EARLIER ARCHAIC CITY WALL AT OLD SMYRNA.



Antiquities. The Kalavassos tomb groups contain some notable paste bead necklaces and bronze hair ornaments. A middle Bronze Age group from the former site contained an imported jug of the wheelmade, painted type common to Syria and Cilicia (Fig. 10). The late J. F. Daniel returned to the Curium Expedition's late Bronze Age settlement at *Bamboula* for a brief supplementary season, during which he examined a further section of the town wall and collected evidence of continuous occupation down to the archaic period.

The excavation of the town site at *Enkomi*, now a joint enterprise of the French Mission under Dr. C. F. A. Schaeffer and the Cyprus Department of Antiquities, has acquired increased interest through the identification of the site as the capital of the kingdom of Alasia, which René Dussaud proposed in a communication to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. Dikaïos' opening campaigns for the Department of Antiquities laid bare part of an impressive palace complex near the centre of the site (Pl. IIIc). The earliest floors so far reached produced Mycenaean pottery of about 1400 B.C. The original lay-out was overlaid by structures of inferior masonry which were abandoned in the twelfth century. From the latest level came a fine bronze statue of a young male god, 55 cm. high, which combines Aegean features with the horned headdress of the oriental deities. The statue, which may represent a Bronze Age ancestor of the classical Apollo Alasiotas, has been published in an account of the excavations in *ILN*, August 20th and 27th, 1949.

Miss J. du Plat Taylor, working on behalf of the Antiquities Department and with the support of the Ashmolean Museum, undertook a search for a well-stratified Iron Age site. Trials near *Myrtou* disclosed excellent ashlar masonry and deposits rich in pottery, ranging from Mycenaean down to about 800. Miss Taylor also tested a number of sites in the eastern Mesaoria but with disappointing results. By chance discoveries of archaic sculpture (now in the Cyprus Museum) two new sanctuary sites were located. The one, near *Kouklia*, produced fragments of stone statues approaching life size and of bases with syllabic dedications; the other, at *Kokkina* on the coast east of Marium (Polis), terracottas of good quality. Neither has been excavated. At the *Pernera* sanctuary site west of Nicosia, where soundings in 1947 produced archaic figurines, a further trial was conducted for the Department by Mr. John Seltman in conjunction with the Army Education Scheme, the labour being supplied by volunteers from the Services. Below Hellenistic floors a series of circular rock-cut pits was found, some of them containing fragmentary terracottas, perhaps debris cleared from the sanctuary.

At *Laxia*, south of Nicosia, the remains of a large building, brought to light by villagers excavating for stone, was cleared by the Department. Subdivided into three parallel compartments, it appears to be an administrative building in a sanctuary area and to date from the late Hellenistic period. Dikaïos and T. Bruce Mitford examined the cave shrine on the summit of *Kaphizin* hill, which had produced syllabic and alphabetic dedications to the nymph in the  $\sigma\tau\acute{o}\rho\theta\upsilon\gamma\zeta$  dating from the third century B.C. (*RDAC*, 1937-1939, 124 ff.). Subsequent occupation by shepherds had left little *in situ*, but a useful harvest of new inscribed pot fragments was recovered, including parts of an imposing multiple lamp with three tiers of nozzles (Fig. 11). In the Hellenistic cemetery of Ayios Ermoyenis at *Episkopi* G. McFadden did some supplementary work for the Curium Expedition, without opening any new tombs. Of this period the Cyprus Museum has acquired a tomb group from Limassol, a hoard of Ptolemaic staters and a good-quality limestone head of a youth.

On the acropolis of *Curium* the Pennsylvania University Museum expedition concentrated its attention on the 'Palace', now seen to be a bath-complex of the fourth century A.D., and the theatre. In the former Mr. D. C. Fales uncovered a new mosaic with, in the central medallion, a bust of Ktisis, and from the fills beneath it secured nearly 100 coins mostly of Constantius II. Below the building he opened a series of rock-cut cisterns. Fales also cleared the whole area of the adjoining theatre, which in part at least is of Roman date. It had a vaulted passage encircling the cavea, round the upper part of which are traces of a colonnade. Little of the seating remains and only the substructures of the scene building, but where the masonry is preserved it is of fine quality. At the Apollo sanctuary, west of Curium, excavations



directed by McFadden on the eastern perimeter led to the discovery of a small Roman bath in a good state of preservation just outside the peribolos wall. The floor of one of the hypocaust rooms was found almost intact and evidence was recovered of the extension of the heating system in a dado round the walls, which was closed by a heavy stone moulding.

The partial excavation of a large basilican church in the town site on *Cape Drepanum* has added to the number of Early Christian monuments in the Island, which remains unduly small. Conducted by A. H. S. Megaw for the Department of Antiquities, the excavations



FIG. 10.—IMPORTED JUG FROM MIDDLE BRONZE AGE TOMB, NICOSIA.



FIG. 11.—CYPRUS. HELLENISTIC MULTIPLE LAMP FROM KAPHIZIN

revealed a three-aisled church with three apses, an annexe to the north—perhaps a baptistery—and an atrium to the west. The nave had a mosaic pavement, which is preserved only at the east end (Pl. IIIb). Some of the marble columns and capitals were found and some fragments of the marble chancel screen. They indicate a date in the late sixth century.

For the medieval period a notable discovery was made at St. Sophia, the former Latin Cathedral of *Nicosia*. In the arches over the main west door some of the original marble figure sculpture, dated about 1320, was discovered behind plaster—a series of eighty-eight little figures of prophets, kings, queens, and prelates (Pl. IIIa); also some damaged figures from the central tympanum composition, evidently a Transfiguration. In *Famagusta* Th. Mogabgab continued his investigations in the citadel, where the removal of Venetian fills is revealing the disposition of the Frankish Castle.

J. M. COOK.

*The British School at Athens.*



## THE DATING OF HORSES ON STANDS AND SPECTACLE FIBULAE IN GREECE <sup>1</sup>

[PLATES IV-V]

IN *Evolution*, I tried to date tripod-cauldrons by the development of their shape and decoration, and by the style of human and animal figurines upon them, particularly by the style of horses on tripod-handles. I now want to compare tripod-horses with horses on stands, but first I must examine the foundations, and cast a glance at dating evidence afforded by fibulae.

In my former study I ventured to tamper with the order laid down by Furtwängler. Not unnaturally, some of his successors <sup>2</sup> at Olympia resisted. They have not met my contention that tripods with solid legs and handles show a consistent development in section from solid to flat, in decoration from simple to elaborate, but they still find it necessary to insert elaborate plated <sup>3</sup> tripods, decorated with advanced horses, into the sequence, so that late solid tripods can imitate their patterns. Plated tripods cannot go in the middle of the series, as Furtwängler said, because too many solid tripods are hybrids between his classes I and III. Hampe puts plated tripods before the decorative period of solid tripods and equates the horses of the last-named with Boeotian rabbits <sup>4</sup> of the seventh century. A horse is a horse and rabbits are different. Early seventh century horses are not at all like rabbits. Let him look again at his own Boeotian brooches. <sup>5</sup>

Kunze's latest pronouncement <sup>6</sup> appears to accept my order, but his dates for the figurines on plated tripods may be a little higher than mine. There are of course unattached horses and with these I do not meddle.

My account in 1935 had two weak points: I was able to point to few patterns on vases contemporary with those on solid tripods, and to no predecessors, and few possible contemporaries of the horses. New discoveries and further study, especially of vases found in Ithaca and soon to be published, have in part remedied these defects.

### COMPARISON OF VASE PATTERNS AND TRIPOD PATTERNS

Plain lines on legs and handles present no difficulties. They are the background of expanding Geometric vase painting. Zig-zags between lines are everywhere. In the running spirals of *Evolution*, pl. 14, <sup>7</sup> we have a design close to the running spiral of vase painting. <sup>8</sup> The design on Ithaca tripod leg 11 (*Evolution*, pl. 17) is just like a slice of a Late Geometric Attic pyxis. Of the panel at the top of tripod legs I have already spoken; it comes in at the end of solid tripods and is universal on plated tripods.

*Evolution*, pl. 24, 1 has an orientalising rosette. Rays like those on the Ashmolean handle may have set the fashion for rays on aryballoi and elsewhere. Kunze's confronted lions in a panel are fully orientalising. <sup>9</sup> Their date must surely be close to that of the 'Late

<sup>1</sup> Contractions:

AO: Artemis Orthia.

Evolution: Benton, *Evolution of the Tripod Lebes* (BSA, XXXV).

M: Heurtley and Skcat, *Marmariani* (BSA, XXXI).

O: Olympia IV, die Bronzen.

PV: Payne, *Protokorinthische Vasermalerei*.

VS: Johansen, *Vases Sicyoniens*.

W: Weinberg, *Corinth*, VII, 1.

<sup>2</sup> R. Hampe and U. Jantzen (*JDI*) *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, 1937, 65-69. Markman, *The Horse in Greek Art*, 21, quotes these authors (*op. cit.* 42, fig.

18) as his authorities for an absurd dating. On reference to this passage it appears that he had translated 'das mittlere achte Jahrhundert' as 875-825 B.C. with disastrous results to the chronology of his first 200 years.

<sup>3</sup> I mean tripods made of thin plates of metal.

<sup>4</sup> R. Hampe, *op. cit.* 70; *Sagenbilder* pl. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Or at PV pl. 10, 6.

<sup>6</sup> *Neue Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst aus Olympia*. It contains first-class illustrations of lovely bronzes.

<sup>7</sup> Ithaca 3.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. Robertson, *BSA* XLIII, pl. 1, 1, perhaps to be dated about 750 B.C.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, 4/5.



Geometric Lion Painter'.<sup>10</sup> This tripod leg, discovered since my paper, would persuade me to shift my terminus ante for solid tripods from 725 B.C. to 700 B.C.

A detached 'ess' pattern, is common on plated tripods,<sup>11</sup> but does not occur on solid tripods.<sup>12</sup> It is the logical outcome of disintegrating running spirals, a pattern we have seen to be common on solid tripods.<sup>13</sup> These esses tend to be seventh rather than eighth century patterns on Ithacan<sup>14</sup> vases.

Latest of all is the leaf edging on the plated tripod O. 815, the usual edging pattern of classical art, too late for any tripod cauldron.

#### COILED WIRE PATTERNS

Why should the coiled wire patterns on solid tripods be taken from a different medium (incised plates) when there were contemporary objects in coiled wire to be copied, namely tripod-stands with coiled wire spirals? The Pnyx<sup>15</sup> tripod should now be dated later than the ninth century, perhaps to the first half of the eighth century.

Another tripod with coiled wire spirals has been found in a tomb at Knossos with Proto-geometric vases. This need not mean that it is much earlier, for Proto-geometric lasted long in Crete.

I was never happy about Furtwängler's statement that such complicated objects as tripod-cauldron legs and tripod-cauldron handles were cast each all in one. The handle of pl. 20, 2<sup>16</sup> has certainly not been cast with its strap, the horse was cast separate too, and I am sure the spirals on Ithaca 9 (*op. cit.*, pl. 18, 6) are made of real wire added after casting. Still it may be argued that these stands were rare and exotic; what about spectacle fibulae which were better known and had a wider distribution?

#### DATE OF SPECTACLE FIBULAE IN GREECE

No-one now connects spectacle fibulae with Mycenaean spirals, but Myres<sup>17</sup> thinks they came to Sparta with the Dorians from the Danube about 1140 B.C. and then seemingly lasted on for centuries, and Childe<sup>18</sup> would date them about 925 B.C. at Marmariani. They are found in many sites in Greece, but I shall examine five which might give us a date.

##### (1) *Artemis Orthia*.

Bronze spectacle fibulae 900-700 B.C.<sup>19</sup>

Ivory spectacle fibulae ninth to sixth century.<sup>20</sup>

The figure 900 is obtained as follows:—

Deposit 0.25 m. deep contained Protocorinthian<sup>21</sup> sherds,

∴ it lasted from 740-660 B.C.<sup>22</sup> = 80 years.

Below this was a Geometric deposit 0.50 m deep containing no Protocorinthian pottery.

0.25 m. lasted 80 years,

∴ 0.50 m. lasted 160 years,

740 + 160 = 900

∴ the temple was founded in 900 B.C.

<sup>10</sup> Cook, *BSA* XLII, 143. See below p. 21.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. on the plated handle *op. cit.*, pl. 19, 2.

<sup>12</sup> The pattern on the edges of a late solid tripod-leg at Olympia (Hampe, *Die Antike* XV 33, Abb. 17), depicts birds, not debased spirals.

<sup>13</sup> E.g. Ithaca tripod No. 9. (*Ibid.* pl. 17); no. 3 (pl. 14 d).

<sup>14</sup> E.g. Robertson *BSA* XLIII, pl. 21, 322. There are dozens of examples.

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<sup>15</sup> *AM* XVIII 414, pl. XIV: for vases found with it see *BSA* XXXV 125, n. 4.

<sup>16</sup> *BSA* XXXV.

<sup>17</sup> *Who were the Greeks?* 304, 425.

<sup>18</sup> *Festschrift für Otto Tschumi* 73.

<sup>19</sup> *AO* 196, 198.

<sup>20</sup> *AO* 224.

<sup>21</sup> *AO* 18.

<sup>22</sup> It should be till 625 B.C. but no matter.



This is a dangerous argument, and difficult to check; the excavator has given us the stratification of only one sherd; but one too many. It was found 'almost on virgin soil';<sup>23</sup> it is listed as Geometric. It is the shoulder of an orientalising globular aryballos, of a type common at Cumae, and to be dated at the earliest to the end of the eighth century.<sup>24</sup> If it is a Laconian imitation it will be later.<sup>25</sup> One sherd out of place will not necessarily wreck a stratification, founded on positive evidence, but so wrong a diagnosis wrecks all faith in the argumentum ex absentia. Let us have done with it and date the sanctuary by the objects published and a few unpublished sherds to after 800 B.C. There is no published evidence that any object except a Mycenaean gem is earlier than 750 B.C. Moreover, it is not necessary to conclude with the excavators that every object was thrown out in strict chronological sequence. Kunze<sup>26</sup> has already objected to *AO*, pl. XCII. 2, a rider on a Clydesdale, being dated before 740 B.C. We can, however, accept the stratigraphic evidence that the wire spectacle brooches are a little earlier than the ivory. This is important to our inquiry and gives us an additional reason for dating plated tripods and their horses after solid tripods. The patterns of the plated tripod *O* 585<sup>27</sup> are extremely like those of bone and ivory spectacle fibulae, whose floruit is the seventh and not the eighth century.<sup>28</sup>

(2) *Thera*.

The contents of Schiff's Grave in Thera<sup>29</sup> certainly go back to the eighth century and probably earlier, for it has a hump-backed fibula and a rolled pin; but as it also contained Daedalic statues, it does not give us a fixed date.

(3) *Chauchitsa*.<sup>30</sup>

The last half of the eighth century seems a good date for the spectacle fibulae from Chauchitsa in Macedonia. Close dating is not really possible, but objects of Hallstatt c date occur in two of the graves, nos. 10 and 13,<sup>31</sup> which contained spectacle fibulae. All were single burials. The excavator was probably right in believing the cemetery to be homogeneous. It contained one of the disputed cups with concentric semicircles,<sup>32</sup> but see below.

(4) *Delphi*.<sup>33</sup>

The stratification of the tomb in which the fibulae were found is unsatisfactory, but nothing in it is earlier than globular aryballoi (end of the eighth or beginning of the seventh century).

(5) *Marmariani*.<sup>34</sup>

The Marmariani fibulae would seem to be 200 years earlier than the rest. There is no doubt that they were found with pottery some of which has Protogeometric patterns, but what is their date? There is an ominous absence of both Early and Middle<sup>35</sup> Geometric pottery in Thessaly.

In reconsidering the Marmariani vases we have the enormous advantage over the authors that the Kerameikos<sup>36</sup> tombs have been dug, and that their contents are set out in order in

<sup>23</sup> *AO* p. 63, fig. 37 A.

<sup>24</sup> See below n. 64.

<sup>25</sup> Lane has found some more of it and classes it as Laconian I, Orientalising (*BSA* XXXIV, pl. 25 c, 112). He tells me that he thinks it is too rough to be genuine Protocorinthian.

<sup>26</sup> *Kretische Bronzereliefs* 254, 23.

<sup>27</sup> *O*, pl. XXXI.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Payne, *Perachora*, 170: 'The other Corinthian fibula of the seventh century is the ivory spectacle fibula.'

<sup>29</sup> *Thera* I, 311, Abb. 499 a; 317, Abb. 510.

<sup>30</sup> Casson, *BSA* XXVI, 1 ff.

<sup>31</sup> *Op. cit.* 9. I have not been able to use W. Reichel, *Griechisches Goldrelief* which I see gives an earlier date for

Chauchitsa.

<sup>32</sup> *Op. cit.* Tomb 2, p. 10, fig. 3c. Tomb 2 is beside tomb 3, which contains a cup of late 8th century date: similar gold bands in both tombs.

<sup>33</sup> *Fouilles de Delphes* V, 112, 154. All the vases look seventh century.

<sup>34</sup> Heurtley and Skeat, *BSA* XXXI. I apologise for the length and dullness of this section. General readers (if any) please skip on to the horses p. 21.

<sup>35</sup> Desborough has called my attention to imported Middle Geometric vases found at Kapakli near Volo. This is just the sort of indirect influence that I had supposed to be at work on Marmariani.

<sup>36</sup> Publication to date, *Kerameikos*, I and IV.



the Kerameikos Museum from Sub-Mycenaean to Late Geometric and beyond, an enduring monument to German scholarship.

Shape is of paramount importance, but it has often been overlooked because patterns are easier to see. All the vases of Marmariani have been called Protogeometric and dated 1000-850 B.C. because of some concentric circles and semicircles with hour-glass centres. Now the truth is that four vases, *M* 66, 77-79, are like canonical, but late, Attic Protogeometric vases, in pattern and shape; the rest are different. The authors picked out the kantharoi and jugs with cut-away necks as of local origin. These, then, are as yet undateable; let us examine the others.

#### *Oinochoai.*

*M* 66 is oval and canonical, all the rest have broader and often ovoid bodies, a development found in Corinthian<sup>37</sup> and Attic Geometric oinochoai. *M* 48, 49 are among the earliest of these and look Early Geometric. The oinochoe from Megara<sup>38</sup> looks to be between the two; Ithaca, where there is a complete series<sup>39</sup> of Corinthian shapes, helps us to date *M* 50 and 54. Ovoid half-decorated body; fully decorated, broad, stiff, tall neck; horror vacui in the decoration. These qualities are not found together before Late Geometric times.<sup>40</sup> Bands of solid rays of a similar size to those round the middle of *M* 56 occur in Ithaca in the orientalising period and outlined solid rays belong to the same period.

#### *Amphorai.*

Same story: *M* 74, ovoid body, very tall, fully decorated neck.

*Mugs and Cups* with sharply everted lips do not reach Attica and Corinth before the late eighth century. They may have been earlier in the East and so come earlier to Thessaly. Cups like those on *M*, pl. VII, with concentric circles, do not reach Athens. They occur in a late eighth-century context in Chauchitsa<sup>41</sup> and El Mina.<sup>42</sup>

#### *Pyxis or Cup.*

I refuse to believe that the handle of No. 131, a wide plastic strap with upturned ends, is unconnected with exactly similar handles on Attic Late Geometric bowls.<sup>43</sup> Weinberg 47 (Early Geometric) is a forerunner. There is a Middle Geometric krater strap-handle with straight plastic ends which is still closer (*W* 74). The shape developed in the South and what happened in Macedonia in the Early Bronze Age does not matter.<sup>44</sup> It is not just a question, 'Did it develop in Athens or Thessaly?' but, 'Did it appear fully fledged in Marmariani in 950 B.C. and then start to develop all over again in the South?'

#### *Krater.*

This is a rare shape in Attic Protogeometric. If the foot is high it is always conical, sometimes with a ring added; the rim is seldom everted.<sup>45</sup> The feet of Marmariani kraters show development like that which occurred in Athens between 900 and 700 B.C.

Medallions with dark and reserved crosses at the centre are common in Geometric<sup>46</sup> and very rare in Protogeometric<sup>47</sup> pottery. They appear in metopes round the centre of Attic vases of 'Severe' Geometric style and they are like the medallions on Marmariani kraters. The earliest foot at Marmariani, *M* 140, is broader than the Attic Protogeometric

<sup>37</sup> If bodies had been broadened under the influence of the gourd-like native jugs, they might be expected to be bulbous but not ovoid.

<sup>38</sup> *W* pl. 11.

<sup>39</sup> To be published.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Robertson, *BSA* XLIII, 445, pl. 30.

<sup>41</sup> See above, p. 18.

<sup>42</sup> Robertson, *JHS* LX, 2. The author merely states that it is not Protogeometric. None of the sherds found with it look earlier than 750 B.C. See references given *loc. cit.*

<sup>43</sup> Hampe, *Sagenbilder*, pls. 32, 33.

<sup>44</sup> Heurtley, *BSA* XXXI, 47, 52.

<sup>45</sup> *Kerameikos* IV, pl. 34. See also pls. 22 and 23 from late graves, and contrast with Marmariani kraters. Desborough calls my attention to the rim of an Attic Protogeometric Krater in Munich, Kraiker, *Die Antike* XV 220.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. *M* 136, 145, 149 with Wide, *JDI* XIV, figs. 65-68.

<sup>47</sup> *Kerameikos* I, pl. 51; cf. N.M. 805. See Kahane, *AJA* XLIV, pl. XXIII.



foot, which is either conical or conical with a ring round it. The foot of *M* 135 is rather like that of the Isis krater,<sup>48</sup> *M* 137 has a foot like that of the krater from Thebes.<sup>49</sup> The more spreading feet on *M* pl. X can be compared to the foot of a krater from Analatos,<sup>50</sup> which is rather late. The general shape, the sharply everted rim and the ribbing are not unlike that of Kahane's 'prothesis' krater,<sup>51</sup> and it too has medallions, though these are more advanced.

*M* 135 has tall double axes as on Ithaca 444<sup>52</sup> and enclosed triangles in double axes, as on another Middle or Late Geometric oinochoe in Ithaca. Its two-piece handle is seen on *W* 70 (Early Geometric). On the base it has groups of vertical wavy lines (Late Geometric). The inscribed meander pattern must come from Athens, where it was very popular in Early Geometric. The solid meander is later (*M* 143). There is also the handle pattern of *M* 136.

Tombs should be dated and (I think) called after the latest objects in them, Marmariani then is backwoods Geometric of the late eighth century. The vases look so barbaric with their flashy black and red that one feels they ought to be early, but they are not. This or that feature might have been early in Thessaly and have reached Athens in the late eighth century—probably this actually happened with the kantharoi with vertical handles—but not so many features, not fundamental shapes and schemes of decoration, unless Geometric style not only originated in Marmariani, but happened there in its most pronounced form and then developed all over again, slowly and logically, in the South.

Canonical and fairly Early Protogeometric pottery did reach other parts of Thessaly. Tomb B at Theotokou<sup>53</sup> has oval, closed shapes and straight-rimmed drinking vases with conical feet; these latter are reassuring if not obligatory. Tomb A is like Marmariani and later than Tomb B. The Skyros<sup>54</sup> tombs contain only early Attic Protogeometric pottery.

#### EVIDENCE FOR THE DATING OF OTHER FIBULAE

The Kerameikos discoveries have done much to clarify the history of fibulae. They confirm the fact that of the safety pins only the leaf-shaped variety survived to Sub-Mycenaean times, and even that died out before the Protogeometric era, like the hump-backed fibulae. Note the absence of spectacle fibulae, though the decoration of the vases would seem to invite them. A thin stilted fibula with two knobs is present in the Sub-Mycenaean graves<sup>55</sup> in Athens, as at Mouliana. I do not doubt that it reached Athens from Crete. Bows of such fibulae in the Protogeometric cemetery are rather more swollen.<sup>56</sup> From these develop the 'Boat fibula with eyes'<sup>56</sup> and various kinds of 'leech fibula'. These and the 'Boeotian' fibulae<sup>57</sup> and doubtless all the beaded and compound fibulae are Geometric or later.

Applying this test to Thessaly, it is clear that Tomb A at Theotokou<sup>58</sup> with pottery like Marmariani, contains a 'Boeotian' fibula and one that looks like a compound fibula, a slice of bone between other substances, though this is not stated.

To sum up, the earliest dateable vases at Marmariani do go back to the tenth century, but the tombs last on till 725 B.C. If spectacle fibulae cannot be earlier than 800 B.C. at Sparta, and are probably late at Chauchitsa, it seems rash to put up the date of their arrival in Greece on the evidence of Marmariani.<sup>59</sup> They must have been clumsy, brittle and

<sup>48</sup> *CVA* Greece I, pl. 6, 5.

<sup>49</sup> *FS* pl. 1, 2.

<sup>50</sup> Wide, *JDI* XIV, 213, fig. 92. Compare also the krater Hampe, pl. 29.

<sup>51</sup> See *op. cit.* pl. XXV.

<sup>52</sup> Robertson, *BSA* XLIII, pl. 30.

<sup>53</sup> Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, 208 ff.

<sup>54</sup> *Kerameikos* I, 83.

<sup>55</sup> *Kerameikos* IV, pl. 39, Inv. M 2, M 22.

<sup>56</sup> *Perachora*, pl. 73, 5.

<sup>57</sup> The bow of this fibula is hexagonal in Crete (*BSA* XL, pl. 32, 39) from Praesos, and in Athens, where it has grown a large decorated plate (*JHS* LI 167 in Toronto). The typology of this fibula is sound, even if, as I think, the grave group is at least two groups. Hampe should have seen that the Elgin gold fibulae (*Sagenbilder*, pl. 7) are

typologically earlier than his monster fibulae. Their designs are simple like Iliffe's fibula and their bows are semicircular, i.e. hammered half-way to flat. Incidentally he has transposed the designs; there are two horses on one fibula. A chain of fibulae of a fully developed type is dated about 800 B.C. (not early ninth century as stated in the text) by a grave in the Kerameikos (*JDI* LIII, 587, Abb. 9 and 11).

<sup>58</sup> *Prehistoric Thessaly*, 209 ff., p. 212 a and c.

<sup>59</sup> Tomb 5 contained a spectacle fibula, as well as the oinochoe *M* 49 (pl. IV), with beautiful glaze and looking Early Geometric; *M* 54 which has a tall decorated neck in a Middle Geometric scheme, and *M* 137 (pl. IX) with a foot of Late Geometric shape. Cf. the big Corinthian krater, *FS* pl. I.



unsatisfactory, apt to get wet and stain cloth. They probably had a short vogue even in backwood areas. Ornamentation in spiral wire of course kept turning up after the first discovery of wire.

### Horses.<sup>60</sup>

At last we reach the horses and I have only to offer a few dates and to let the illustrations speak for themselves. The earliest post-Mycenaean horses in Greece are those represented on Protogeometric amphorae found in graves in the Kerameikos.<sup>61</sup>

*Class I.* They are astonishingly like the horses on tripods with solid legs (pl. Ia), same weedy limbs and long bodies. These characteristics both share with the horses on 'prothesis' vases, which I still regard as contemporary with the cauldron horses. Only as prothesis vases are now generally relegated at least to the second quarter of the eighth century,<sup>62</sup> horses on tripod cauldrons will have to go there too. The Geometric amphora in London which I show (Pl. IVa) is a late specimen of its class, but it is clearly earlier than the Late Geometric amphora (Pl. Va): it has a good deal of black on the body and an extravagantly long neck. The legs of the horse are still weedy, not properly articulated, though better than those of the horse on Ithaca tripod g (Pl. IVb) which I have set beside it. Tripod horses are represented galloping, horses on stands are standing.

*Class II.* All the horses that follow have acquired a new tension. No horses on solid tripods have it, all plated tripod horses have it (see Pl. IVc). It seems to be a discovery of the second half of the eighth century and not all Late Geometric horses on Attic vases are affected by it.<sup>63</sup>

As a confirmation of my dating, I am allowed to show a grave group from a single burial, in Taranto Museum. Mr. Drago most kindly adds the interesting news that it was found in Bari. The Protocorinthian globular aryballos with a single reserved line in a dark base said to be found with it should date from the last quarter of the eighth<sup>64</sup> century. The little horse has few graces but he is sturdy and stiff (Pl. IVd).

The horse on a stand (Pl. Vb) found at Aetos, Ithaca, adds exaggerated neck and flanks to the new tautness, and his body has become much shorter. He cannot be very far away in date from the horses on the vase beside him (Pl. Va), last quarter of the eighth century.<sup>65</sup> He is so like the horses from Perachora that he too must come from Corinth. Payne's<sup>66</sup> date is 750-700 B.C. The horse was actually found inside a monochrome kyathos.<sup>67</sup> I am allowed to figure a delightful little horse from Syracuse which is said to have reached the Museum before Orsi's excavations. The shape of his body is like that of the Lions of the 'Late Geometric Lion Painter'<sup>68</sup> at the very end of the eighth century (Pl. Vc).

*Class III.* A mannered creature on a stand with a longer body and shoulders reaching down to the ankles (Pl. Ve) continues the story of the horse in Ithaca. His position at the

<sup>60</sup> Pl. IV, a: From JDI LVIII, 15, Abb. 8. Geometric Attic Amphora.

b: BSA XXXV, Pl. 15 c. Ithaca tripod g. Scale 1:1.

c: Ibid. Pl. 18, 3. Horse on a plated tripod in Olympia. O. No. 607. Scale 1:2.

d: Grave Group in Taranto. Scale 1:1.

Pl. V, a: BSA XXXV Pl. 26, 1. Late Geometric Attic Amphora. Scale 1:4.

b: Horse from Aetos; Ithaca, Bronzes No. 3. Scale 1:1.

c: Horse at Syracuse. Mr. J. M. Cook's photograph. Scale 1:2.

d: Aryballos in the Ashmolean, CVA Oxford 2, Pl. 1, 5. Scale 1:1.

e: Horse from Aetos; Ithaca, Bronzes No. 8. Scale 1:1.

<sup>61</sup> Kerameikos IV, pl. 27.

<sup>62</sup> I see G. Nottbohm puts them later still, JDI LVIII, 28.

<sup>63</sup> E.g. the horses on a very late Geometric oinochoe, Evolution, pl. 25, 3 and 4. They look arthritic.

<sup>64</sup> This is an unexpectedly early date to find Corinthian influence on the East Coast of Italy, but Beaumont (JHS LVI, 192, note 238) suggested something of the sort.

For me Payne's dating stands. R. M. Cook points out that Åkerström in *Der Geometrische Stil in Italien* starts from false premises (JHS LXV, 120).

<sup>65</sup> Kahane's phases 1 and 2 of the Late Geometric period are to me indistinguishable (AJA XLIV, 482). He has to split up the vases of a single burial, tomb XIII at Athens, to divide the period. Complicated patterns of phase 1 reappear word for word on a phase-2 vase. For me it is all one phase and to be dated in the last quarter of the century.

<sup>66</sup> Perachora Pl. 37, p. 126.

<sup>67</sup> The body is shaped like Johansen pl. X, 4, but it probably had two handles.

<sup>68</sup> J. M. Cook, BSA XLII, 144, fig. 4 a.



end of my sequence, and the Corinthian provenience of the Ithaca horses, are confirmed by his striking resemblance to the horses of the Dioskouroi on the Early Protocorinthian aryballos in the Ashmolean Museum <sup>69</sup> (Pl. Vd).

I have to thank the British School at Athens, the Directors of the Museum of Taranto and Syracuse and of the Ashmolean Museum for permission to publish these photographs.

SYLVIA BENTON.

NOTE.—Mr. Robert M. Cook has just shown me sherds from two vases said to have been found at Artemis Orthia which are unquestionably of Protogeometric style. If we can assume that they were actually found in the shrine deposit, are we to conclude that they date the shrine, or that the shrine dates them?

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<sup>69</sup> Payne's date for this vase is 'end of the first quarter of the seventh century', *CVA* Oxford, pl. 1, 5.



## ORIGINS OF THE BERLIN PAINTER

### [PLATES VI-IX]

THE vase illustrated in pll. VI-IX(a) and figs. 1 and 2 is a red-figure volute-krater belonging to the Museum of Ethnology and Archaeology at Cambridge, and now deposited on loan at the Fitzwilliam Museum. It came to the Museum of Ethnology and Archaeology in 1886 with the Barrett Collection, but nothing further is known of its history. It was attributed to the Berlin Painter by Professor J. D. Beazley in *Attische Vasenmaler*,<sup>1</sup> and in his *Berliner Maler*<sup>2</sup> he classed it among the half-dozen earliest works of the master. Until recently it was severely repainted, but has now been cleaned. Much is missing; the surface is rubbed, and the restorer had not hesitated to plane away the edges of fragments where he could not arrange a clean fit; but it remains a fine and interesting piece.

Modern are: foot, with much of the lower part, including most of the rayed area and lower part of reverse figure; volute of one handle; rim, upper register and most of lower register of neck on obverse; patches on body and reverse neck (evident in photographs). The foot has been restored on the model of a complete volute-krater decorated by the same artist some years later.<sup>3</sup> In the body pictures relief-contour is used rather sparingly, as usual in this artist's work; the small figures on the neck, like those on the London volute-krater, show a much fuller use of it.<sup>4</sup> Thinned glaze is used for the usual inner body-markings; on the youth on B, however, they have all been obliterated, except for the end of one line on the back and of one on the upper arm. On this figure it is also used for drapery folds running from the right-hand contour, both in the area about the waist and across the leg. Red is used for the wreaths of the figures on the body and for the plectrum string. The hair-contour is reserved, and engrailed by means of dots of glaze; in the case of the reveller the background line is waved to correspond to these dots.

The patterns are mostly canonical to the shape:<sup>5</sup> ivy on volutes; running key on lip; tongues on shoulder and at handle-roots; rays at base. The running palmette on the upper register of the neck is of a class that has been exhaustively studied by Dinsmoor in connection with the date of the Athenian Treasury.<sup>6</sup> It belongs to his type I, though the artist shows a

<sup>1</sup> 82, no. 75. I have to thank the Museum authorities for permission to publish it.

<sup>2</sup> 14 and 18, no. 93. It also appears in *ARV*, 137, no. 99.

<sup>3</sup> London, E468; *Berliner Maler* pl. 29. Sir John Beazley tells me of a splendid new volute-krater by the Berlin Painter in the Villa Giulia: body, on each side a young warrior running; neck, palmettes above, below, A, Herakles, assisted by Athena and by a falling thunderbolt, in combat with Kyknos, at each end chariots; B, athletes. To be dated between the Cambridge and London vases.

<sup>4</sup> Body: reveller on A: forehead and nose (enough of parted lips preserved to show that there was none); drapery in front of chest; both sides of upper-arm but not fore-arm; forefinger of right hand (rest of hand not preserved), with right hand edge of kantharos stem and bowl; thumb and forefinger of left hand; shell of lyre and curved ends of frame with cross-bar and supports; upper contour of left foot with toes and ball of foot; toes and lower contour of right foot; back of right thigh; small of back; relief line is also used for the zig-zag fold-ends which partly impinge on the contour, and for the seven lyre-strings, across reserved and black areas alike. Youth on B: whole face and throat; both sides of right upper arm but not of fore-arm; upper edge of forefinger with both sides of stick above it; knuckles, and both sides of stick immediately below; back of neck; drapery on left shoulder; interior of overhang behind back. Remains of neck-figures on A: whole preserved contour of left-hand figure, and of right-hand figure except back of right calf and thigh and perhaps chiton; at least toes and

underside of foot of second figure from right. Neck-figures on B: whole preserved contour of left-hand figure except parts of right hand and right shin (both of which may originally have had it) and part of lower edge of spear-shaft towards the head; whole preserved contour of second figure, except back of crest immediately above right arm; whole preserved contour of third figure, except lower edge of spear-head with contiguous part of shaft; whole preserved contour of fourth figure (the relief outlines of the crest-tail continue beyond the point where the reserve stops, as far as the right knee); whole preserved contour of two right-hand figures. In the palmette frieze relief-contour is used throughout except for the inner curls of the volutes.

<sup>5</sup> The volute-krater was presumably primarily a metal shape; at least it has no clear development in pottery before the end of the sixth century but crops up in isolated specimens—the François Vase and that signed by Nikosthenes (London B364) in Attic and half a dozen in Laconian of the second and third quarters of the century. The vase at Arezzo, decorated by Euphronios, shows a remodelling of the shape on lines which become canonical for pottery. Our vase is very close to it, while our painter's magnificent later piece in London (see above, n. 3) is smoothened and refined. Other early examples of the canonical form are a number of late black-figure pieces (Louvre F178, Pottier, pl. 77; Boston 90.153; and one in Taranto, Quagliati, *Mus. Tar.* p. 55, 1) and a poor red-figure piece that goes with them in New York (Richter and Hall no. 18, pll. 20 and 171; *ARV* 150, no. α 'Akin to the Nikoxenos Painter').

<sup>6</sup> *AJA* L, 86 ff.



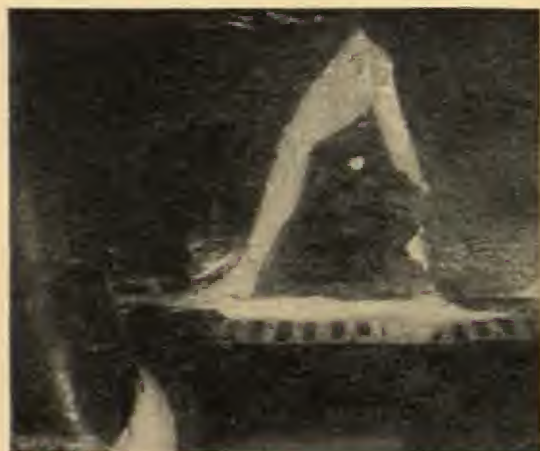


a

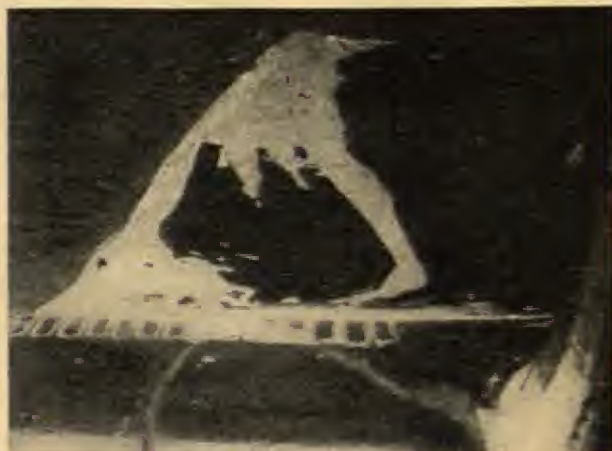


b

FIG. 1.—FIGURES FROM BODY OF VASE IN PLATE VI.



a



b

FIG. 2.—REMAINS OF NECK-PICTURE ON OBTVERSE OF VASE IN PLATE VI.



faint tendency to turn the palmettes alternately upwards and downwards as in type II; on the other hand he has in error broken the alternation of the connections in one place. The closest parallel I know to it is on a hydria in London,<sup>7</sup> of the same time and the same general circle. Below the figure on A is a stopped maeander of unusual form,<sup>8</sup> below that on B a running key.

On the front of the body (Pl. IX (a) and VIII (b) and Fig. 1 (b)) a bearded reveller, naked but for an ivy-wreath and a voluminous cloak thrown over his shoulders, moves carefully to the right, holding a lyre in his left hand and a kantharos, evidently full, in his outstretched right. His mouth is open, presumably in song.

The only unusual feature here is the kantharos. This type of drinking vessel is normally carried by Dionysos and his meinie and occasionally by Hermes in a Dionysiac connection<sup>9</sup> and by Herakles (though he more often has a special and slightly different form) and the Centaur Pholos, but it is very rarely seen in the hands of common men. An example is that carried by Komarchos (or the 'Komarchos'?) on the Munich amphora signed by Euthymides, under whose immediate influence the Berlin Painter was working when he painted our vase.<sup>10</sup>

On the back (Pl. VI and VIII (a) and Fig. 1 (a)) a youth, wreathed but not with ivy, stands to the right, left leg forward, right arm holding a stick, his himation over his left shoulder muffling arm and hand which holds it bunched in the small of his back. His right forefinger points forward, an unusual gesture; he is perhaps keeping time with it to the reveller's song.<sup>11</sup>

The neck on the front of the vase is largely missing, and it will be better to describe the back first (Pl. VI and VII). Here a fight is taking place in which six warriors are involved. All are naked and armed only with helmets, shields and spears. On the left a beardless youth, on his shield (seen in profile) a tripod, retreats, brandishing a spear, before a blonde and beardless opponent, seen in three-quarter back view, who advances thrusting with lowered spear, on his shield the forepart of a bridled horse. Both wear Attic helmets, the flier's cheek-pieces down, the pursuer's turned up. Next a bearded warrior in a Corinthian helmet attacks to the right with raised spear. His shield, seen from within on his extended left arm, is pierced by the spear of his youthful adversary, who however is down on his left knee. He is seen from the back, his head turned towards his assailant. His shield, seen in profile, bears a bull's head and he wears an Attic helmet with the cheek-pieces down. From the right runs up a beardless rescuer, spear raised, Attic helmet with cheek-pieces down, the forepart of a lion on his shield. The last figure, like the first, looks back indeed, but although unpursued makes off at full speed out of the mêlée, shield before him, spear held low. He too is beardless and wears an Attic helmet with the cheek-pieces down. His shield, seen in profile, bears no device but the inscription [κα]λος.

To return to the front of the neck: on the left (Fig. 2 (a)) are the advanced right leg and foot, with the pubes and front of the left thigh and knee, of a naked figure moving rapidly out of the picture. At the right-hand end (Fig. 2 (b)) are the badly preserved remains of two figures; one in a short chiton and cloak was striding into the picture; right leg and foot remain with

<sup>7</sup> E164; Form II with picture on shoulder: palaestra; running palmette below picture. *BCH* 1899, 164; *JHS* 27, 32; Norman Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports*, 334, and *Athletics in the Ancient World*, 166; *CV* pl. 71, 2 and 74, 1. Not in Beazley; it seems to me by a very incompetent imitator of the Kleophrades Painter's earliest works.

<sup>8</sup> See below p. 29 f.

<sup>9</sup> e.g., on the Berlin Painter's name vase. On a black-figure hydria by the Andokides painter in London (B302; *Jdl.* XXI, pl. 1; *ARV* 4 no. 26) Dionysos, reclining among satyrs and maenads, holds one handle of a kantharos while Hermes standing by him holds the other. At the farther edge of the picture stands Hephaistos, and I take it that Dionysos is handing Hermes the cup to take to the lame god, for this is surely the party at which Dionysos made Hephaistos drunk in order to get him back to Olympos. Pernier *Jdl.* XXI, 40 ff., observing that Dionysos's cushion is a full wine-skin, gives a different explanation.

<sup>10</sup> Another is carried by a poor relation of these r.f.

revellers, on a black-figure lekythos by the Gela Painter, Haspels, pl. 24, 2 (5) who started his long career in the time and circle of Euthymides. (See also n. 36 below.) A kantharos is carried by a man in a ritual-seeming procession of vessel-bearers on a vase of nearly a hundred years earlier, the Komast Group kotyle in Athens, *AM*, LXII, pl. 58(a).

<sup>11</sup> On a later work of the artist's, a charming hydria in Boulogne (*ARV* 140, 139) Dionysos, who holds a horn in his right hand and a knotted staff in his left, extends his right forefinger and the first two fingers of this left hand in a similar manner, apparently directing the dance of a maenad who herself wags her right forefinger to admonish the steps of a lion-cub. On his Hearst amphora (*ARV*, 131, below, no. 3; *JHS* XLII, 72-3 and pl. 2; *Berliner Maler* pl. 21) the citharode-singer's trainer uses the forefinger of his free right hand to beat time, while the man on the back of his Montpelier panathenaic (*ARV* 132, no. 9; *JHS* XLII, 75; *REA*, pl. 1 and p. 187) uses the first two fingers in the same way.



part of the edge of the chiton, the two hanging points of the cloak and part of the calf of the advanced left leg. Crossing this are the advanced left leg and foot of a figure moving to the right.

Fig. 3 shows a fragment of a volute-krater neck in Leipsic, also a very early work of the Berlin Painter.<sup>12</sup> The lip bears a running key, the upper register a running palmette very



FIG. 3.—FRAGMENT OF VOLUTE-KRATER NECK IN LEIPSIK.

similar to ours, the lower a palaestra scene: apoxyomenos; dandy; two lines. These lines might be a pair of javelins,<sup>13</sup> or a border. Borders of this or similar form are sometimes found on volute-krater necks, and the Berlin Painter perhaps put one on another seemingly very early vase, whose surviving fragments are entombed in the pastiche Louvre G166.<sup>14</sup> The youth

<sup>12</sup> *ARV* 137, no. 100; *Berliner Maler* 14 and 18, no. 94. I am indebted to Sir John Beazley for the photograph and to Professor Schweitzer for permission to publish it and for very kindly providing the following details: 14.5 cms. high and 24.5 long; many root-marks on the inside and traces of them on the outside which has been cleaned, but none on the

breaks, suggesting that these are later than the finding of the vase. From Hauser's collection.

<sup>13</sup> cf. *Berliner Maler*, pl. 15, 1, also the Villa Giulia krater, p. 23 n. 3 above.

<sup>14</sup> See *CVA* fasc. 2, III, lc, pl. 18, 3 left. *ARV* 137, no. 101 also 124, Kleophrades Painter no. 44, with refs.



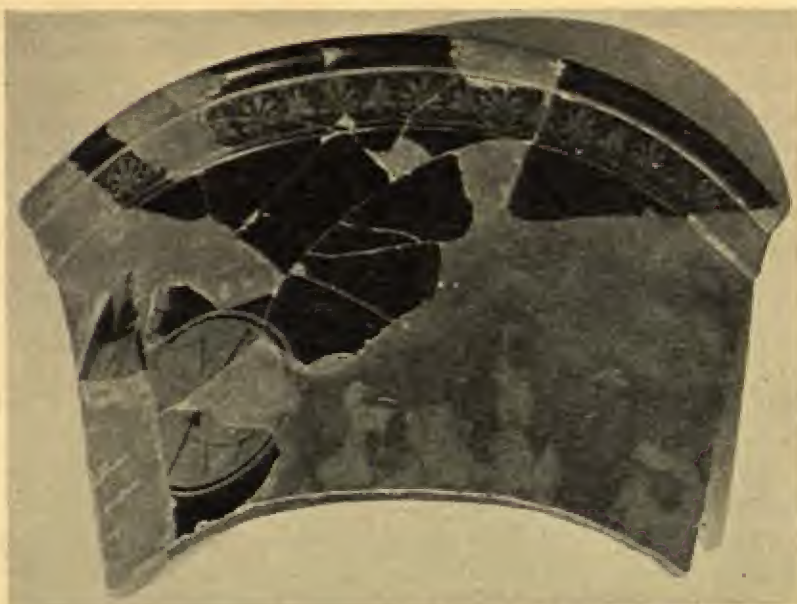


FIG. 4.—CALYX-CRATER FRAGMENT FROM CORINTH.  
(Corinth Museum.)



FIG. 5.—PICTURE ON HYDRIA IN BRITISH MUSEUM (E 162).



with the strigil seems to have had a cloak over his arm.<sup>15</sup> The other figure recalls, though he does not equal, Onesimos's exquisite in his much-illustrated Vienna cup.<sup>16</sup> The question arises whether this fragment is not part of our vase. Against this: (1) from the measurements given the Leipsic fragment appears to be on a slightly larger scale than our vase; (2) the palmettes on the fragment have nine petals, against seven on our vase, and their hearts are more elaborately drawn, though this would not be an impossible difference between front and back; (3) the right-hand figure on our neck-front wears a short chiton and hanging cloak; this costume is suitable for hunters, travellers and fighters, but as far as I know unparalleled in the palaestra. It seems safest to assume, then, that the Leipsic fragment is from another vase and that the scene on the front of our neck, like that on the back, was a battle, but perhaps an amazonomachy, as the mixture of clothed and unclothed warriors seems very rare in other forms of combat.

That the Cambridge vase is the work of the Berlin Painter needs no demonstration. Details of anatomy and drapery folds are exactly his, with some unusual simplification in the small figures on the neck. The reveller on the body is own brother to the silen on the back of the Berlin amphora,<sup>17</sup> a piece which, though it does not belong to the same very early phase of the master's work as our vase, I take to be not much later. The silen, who naturally wears no cloak, has paused and brought the kantharos to his lips to drink, in the motion straightening himself and lifting the lyre a little, but the two pictures are essentially successive moments in a single motion of one figure. The figure on the reverse resembles in pose the youth on a work of the painter's maturity, the charming little neck-amphora in Boulogne with Eros.<sup>18</sup> His face is strikingly like those of the athletes on a very early panathenaic in Munich.<sup>19</sup> Closer kin to the Cambridge youth, however, than any on a vase hitherto ascribed to the Berlin Painter is one who stands behind Theseus as he slays the Minotaur on the Vienna Painter's pelike in Florence.<sup>20</sup> The Vienna and Florence pelikai were ascribed to Euthymides by Furtwängler and others, and the attribution accepted by Beazley in *VA* 33. In *AV* 65, at Langlotz's suggestion, he withdrew them from Euthymides and remarked (p. 76) that they were fore-runners of the Berlin Painter's style, repeating this more hesitantly in *ARV* 27. In view of the close resemblance of our youth to the young Athenian on the Florence pelike, it seems worth considering whether these splendid vases may not in fact be masterpieces of the Berlin Painter's extreme youth.

The vases already classed by Beazley as 'very early' Berlin Painter's are, besides the Cambridge and Leipsic volute-kraters and the Munich panathenaic already discussed: the wonderful hydria in New York with Achilles and Penthesilea;<sup>21</sup> a calyx-krater fragment in Corinth (pl. IX (b) and fig. 4);<sup>22</sup> and a fragment in the Louvre, known to me only from Beazley's description, of a large vase, perhaps a volute-krater, with a fight (bearded warrior running to right).<sup>23</sup> To these I would add two hydriai of black-figure shape, one in London, with Herakles and Nereus (fig. 5),<sup>24</sup> and the other in Aberdeen, with Peleus and Thetis (figs. 6 and 7).<sup>25</sup> These two vases were in 1918 grouped with others by Beazley as the work of a 'Nereus Painter.'<sup>26</sup> Seven years later<sup>27</sup> he transferred another vase from the Nereus to the Berlin Painter and adumbrated the possibility that the former was only a phase of the latter. In 1927<sup>28</sup> he expressed the view that such was the case, but the next year<sup>29</sup> he questioned whether

<sup>15</sup> Cf. the plate in the Robinson Collection, Baltimore *CV* ii, pl. 23, 2; *ARV* 300, no. 3, by the Bryn Mawr Painter, whose curious style owes something to the Berlin Painter.

<sup>16</sup> *ARV* 222, no. 58, with refs.

<sup>17</sup> *ARV* 131, no. 1 *Berliner Maler*, pl. 4.

<sup>18</sup> *ARV* 134, no. 37; *Berliner Maler*, pl. 16.

<sup>19</sup> *ARV* 132, no. 5; *Berliner Maler*, pl. 7, 2.

<sup>20</sup> *ARV* 28, top no. 2; part, *Mus. II*, 3, pl. 4; whence *FR*, ii, 81 and Hoppin, *Euth. F.* pl. 23; augmented by new fragments *CV* ii, pl. 31, 2 and 32. The figure is incomplete, but one of the new fragments gives more of it.

<sup>21</sup> *ARV* 140, no. 132 with refs.; *Berliner Maler* pl. 22, 1, and pp. 12, 14, 15 and 20 no. 129.

<sup>22</sup> These photographs and permission to use them I owe to the kindness of Prof. Broneer. *ARV* 137, no. 88; *AJA*

XXXIV, Prof. Broneer points out that the palmette and lotus frieze on the rim is of unusual elaboration, the lotuses being of two different forms which alternate with one another.

<sup>23</sup> *ARV* 143, no. 184, 'early'; *Berliner Maler* 14 and 21, no. 180 ('sehr früh').

<sup>24</sup> E162; *ARV* 140, no. 128. I have to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish this vase.

<sup>25</sup> 695, *ARV* 140, no. 127. I have to thank Sir John Beazley for the photograph and the University authorities for permission to publish it.

<sup>26</sup> *VA* 61.

<sup>27</sup> *AV*, 471, S. 121-2.

<sup>28</sup> *BSR* XI, 20, note 2.

<sup>29</sup> *Berliner Maler* 14, note 1, 15 and 19, nos. 123 ff.



the three hydriai of black-figure shape <sup>30</sup> were not copies or school-pieces. His latest list (1942) of the Berlin Painter's works includes them without comment.<sup>31</sup>

It seems to me that the Aberdeen and London hydriai are works of the Berlin Painter's own hand but belong to an extremely early period, before even Beazley's 'very early' group, and linking that to the Vienna and Florence pelikai. Look first at the patterns under the



FIG. 6.—HYDRIA IN ABERDEEN (695).

pictures. The Nereus hydria (Fig. 5) has pairs of stopped macander separated by dotted chequer-panels. The members of each pair are separated by vertical lines, and the lines that form the macander themselves spring at the bottom from these two lines and at the top from the lines bounding the chequer-panel. A stopped macander of precisely this form makes the pattern under the Cambridge reveller, only here the eight pairs are separated from each other

<sup>30</sup> On the third, a fragment in Boston (*ARV* 139, no. 126), see below pp. 32 f., fig. 8.

<sup>31</sup> *ARV* 140, nos. 127 and 128. When this article was already in proof, Sir John Beazley drew my attention to a third hydria of the same shape and scheme of decoration, with Apollo and Herakles struggling for the tripod (*Mon.*

*Piot* XX, pl. 5, from a drawing. Now in the Gumá Collection, Havana). From a photograph it is clear that it is inseparable from the London and Aberdeen hydriai. There appears to be some repainting, especially on Apollo's body. Under the picture is a running key.



not by a panel of different pattern but by two verticals like those that form the centre of each pair. The stopped maeander on the New York hydria is of the same form, but here there is a panel of different pattern (framed saltire) not only between the pairs but in the centre of each pair. In the various forms of stopped maeander used by the Berlin Painter in his mature work, the maeander always springs from the horizontal lines above and below the pattern band, never, as in the Cambridge, New York and London vases, from the vertical dividing lines; nor do I know of other examples of this peculiarity in Attic vase-painting. Beneath the picture on the Aberdeen hydria (Fig. 6) is a maeander of the type conveniently called by Miss Haspels<sup>32</sup> a labyrinth. The distinguishing mark of the labyrinth is that two lines cross in the centre of each reach of the maeander. The labyrinth as a vase-pattern occurs only once again, I believe, in the Berlin Painter's work,<sup>33</sup> but is the only form of maeander apart from the simple running key found in the work of his master Euthymides, or of any other painter of the Pioneer Group.<sup>34</sup> The labyrinth as used by the Pioneers is formed of two running lines, in which key and step pattern alternate, crossing each other and enclosing panels of other pattern. This form is also sometimes used by painters of the Berlin Painter's generation—the Kleophrades Painter, the Syleus Painter, the Troilos Painter, the Triptolemos Painter, the Eucharides Painter not infrequently, Douris and the Pan Painter. An ingenious stopped version of this form occurs on a hydria in the Louvre described by Beazley as 'Manner of the Berlin Painter. Later.'<sup>35</sup> The Eucharides Painter uses another stopped form—stopped key crossed by stopped step—and this is found also in the vases of the b.f. Gela Painter.<sup>36</sup> The form on the Aberdeen hydria is different from any of these: a running key crossed by a stopped step and without panels of any other pattern. The same form occurs to my knowledge only on the Berlin Painter's Villa Giulia volute-krater<sup>37</sup> and on the corslet of Orestes on the Vienna pelike; (there the left-hand end is confused, but most of it is certainly of this form).<sup>38</sup>

The style of the figures on the London and Aberdeen hydriai links them even more closely to the Vienna and Florence pelikai than to the 'very early' group of the Berlin Painter. Compare the London Herakles with the Florence Theseus in the Minotauoctony—rather awkwardly managed pose of shoulders, long body, broad short thighs with short and steeply stepped chiton—the likeness is remarkable. Scarcely less striking is the resemblance in drawing of the lower part of the Aberdeen Thetis and that of Chrysothemis on the Vienna vase—the back leg drawn as though naked, the skirt clinging to the line of buttock, thigh and calf, and the bunched folds springing from the front line of thigh and knee. The two figures are close to each other in other points too, especially the drawing of the heads; the difference in build is due I think to the Thetis being spread, like the Nereus, over the front of a broad vase, while the Chrysothemis is crowded into the corner of a full panel. Differences in constructing a restricted and a spread picture account too for the heaviness of the Nereus against a light Clytemnestra, but the composition of these two pictures is in other respects extraordinarily similar. One could multiply the points of likeness: compare Herakles's right hand grasping Nereus's arm with that of Theseus grasping Skiron's foot; Talthybios's head with Nereus's; and the curiously formal dots on his hair and beard with those on Herakles's lion-skin; Peleus's torso with Skiron's and the Minotaur's; and the drawing of the feet throughout. It is perhaps also worth noting that the Nereus hydria, like the pelikai, is circled below the picture by a band

<sup>32</sup> *ABFL* 79, n. 13 and 80.

<sup>33</sup> Volute-krater in the Villa Giulia (p. 23 n. 3 above) a work still early in the painter's maturity, though later than anything under discussion here.

<sup>34</sup> Hydriai by Euthymides in Bonn (*ARV* 26, no. 10); Hypsis in Rome (*ARV* 30, no. 2); and Euphronios in Dresden (*ARV* 17, no. 11); volute-krater by Euphronios in Arezzo (*ARV* 16, no. 5); stamnos by Smikros (Louvre G43, *ARV* 20, below, no. 2).

<sup>35</sup> G178; *ARV* 145, no. π.

<sup>36</sup> See above, p. 25 n. 10.

<sup>37</sup> P. 23 n. 3 above.

<sup>38</sup> The curiously interrupted history of the maeander in archaic Attic vase-painting has been traced by Wedeking

(*Archaische Vasenornamentik* 49 ff.). A running maeander occurs occasionally in works of the Amasis Painter (oinochoe, London B524) and of the painters who worked for Nikosthenes (neck-amphorae in Baltimore and Villa Giulia; volute-krater in London, B364), but the running key is the only form in regular use during the second half of the sixth century, its first rival being the labyrinth introduced by the Pioneers. The earliest kylikes with maeander, as opposed to key or labyrinth, which I know are the Peithinos cup and the Antias cup in Berlin, and the late Euergides Painter's in Athens, none of which can be much if at all before 500. With the overwhelming popularity of the maeander in the next generation the labyrinth becomes rather rare.



of red—an early feature not found, I think, in the Berlin Painter's mature work. I feel no doubt that these five vases are the work of one hand, and the links that hold them to the work of the Berlin Painter are no less strong. We have already noticed the resemblances between the patterns on two hydriai and those on the Berlin Painter's 'very early' work; also the likeness of the youth on the Florence pelike to the one on the Cambridge vase. The compositions of the Talthybios-Clytemnestra and Herakles-Nereus pictures, as well as of the Peleus and Thetis and the Theseus and Skiron, show a preoccupation with that idea of combining two figures within a single contour which found final triumphant expression in the Berlin amphora itself.



FIG. 7.—DETAIL OF VASE IN FIG. 6.

Quality and feeling of the pelikai are echoed in the New York hydria and the Corinth krater-fragment; the Nereus and Thetis hydriai and the Cambridge vase, and even the fine Munich panathenaic, have a touch of the heaviness which overcame the master in middle age.<sup>39</sup> The same feeling occasionally reappears throughout his early years; e.g., to my mind, in the Vatican panathenaic with Athena and Hermes, the Corneto lug-krater<sup>40</sup> with Europa, and the Louvre Nolan with shoulder-pictures. Beazley has already pointed to it in an amphora and some stamnoi transitional to his middle period,<sup>41</sup> and it is very marked in the contemporary Copenhagen hydria with Triptolemos and Kore.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>39</sup> *Berliner Maler* 9 f.

<sup>40</sup> H. R. W. Smith's distinction from bell-krater.

<sup>41</sup> *Mon. Piot* 35, 69 ff.

<sup>42</sup> This vase differs from most of the Berlin Painter's hydriai in the form of the lip, a double bevel, which recurs however on the hydria of black-figure shape in the Vatican

(*Berliner Maler*, pl. 25). It is found as far as I know only on the following vases:

1. B.f. hydria of b.f. shape in Frankfort (Schaal, pl. 12).
2. R.f. hydria of b.f. shape in the Vatican, by the Berlin Painter (*ARV* 140, no. 129).



The detailed renderings on the London and Aberdeen hydriai are nearly those of the painter's established practice; only the typical ankle is omitted or drawn in brown, as occasionally in his maturer work; on the Vienna and Florence pelikai the divagations are greater and I take them to be slightly earlier. Earlier still, real prentice work, I would place the fragment of a hydria in Boston with Herakles and Cerberus (fig. 8).<sup>43</sup> The Herakles figure is closely connected with that on the Nereus hydria, but the whole effect is hesitant and unsure. Even such an incompetent effort however as Hermes's hand is closely paralleled in Skiron's on the Florence pelike. In its picture composition the Boston vase belonged to a group of late sixth-century red-figure hydriai of this shape (including those by Phintias, Hypsis and the Nikoxenos Painter), which take over unchanged the principles of design found on the contemporary and related black-figure hydriai of the Leagros Group. The London, Aberdeen and Havana vases are the first of this shape in which the black-figure tradition is abandoned and the design conceived for the vase in terms of red-figure.<sup>44</sup>

To the same period as the Boston fragment must belong the much finer fragment of a skyphos from the Acropolis,<sup>45</sup> with heads of a god and goddess seated side by side, which Langlotz ascribed to the painter of the Vienna and Florence pelikai. The resemblances are very great, and I think it must be by the Berlin Painter. The mannerism of the drawing I take to be due to an effort at great elaboration by a still undeveloped artist.

As to absolute dating; Beazley has remarked that the New York hydria must be before 500.<sup>46</sup> The Acropolis and Boston fragments must be some years earlier, but certainly not as early as 510. The Vienna and Florence pelikai, which resemble in character the metopes of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi, will probably have been painted about, or soon after, the middle of the decade.

The resemblance of the 'ghost' on the Vienna pelike to the Clytemnestra has often been observed, and it seems almost certain that the original figure was by the same hand. I take that figure to be Polyxena, turning as she flees from Achilles, the horses and Troilos close behind her. The Troilos Painter's name-vase<sup>47</sup> offers a good parallel, and so does the name-vase of the Painter of Louvre G231.<sup>48</sup> The Berlin Painter represented Polyxena again on the lovely Leningrad hydria;<sup>49</sup> I believe the pendant to this vase, with the omitted Troilos, is to be found in the pretty but slighter hydria in Madrid.<sup>50</sup>

To return to the Cambridge volute-krater: the battle on the neck deserves some remark, for it shows the painter in unusual mood. He was never fond of battles; on his 208 red-figure

3. R.f. hydria of r.f. shape in Copenhagen, by the Berlin Painter (*ARV* 140, no. 144).

4. R.f. hydria of r.f. shape in Naples, by the Kleophrades Painter (*ARV* 126, no. 66; the Vivenzio hydria).

5. R.f. hydria of r.f. shape in London, E174, by the Eucharides Painter (*ARV* 155, no. 31).

6. R.f. stamnos in London, E439; unattributed, about 490-480 B.C.

7. R.f. dinos in Würzburg, by the Achilles Painter (*ARV* 638, no. 57; Langlotz, pl. 198-9).

8. Oenochoe, shape Vb, in London, old nos. 1035 and 1154 (Durand Collection); black glaze, with r.f. palmette at handle-base.

Nos. 1 and 2 as Beazley points out to me are almost replicas in shape and must be by the same potter. Beazley, in *JHS* XXX, pointed out the connection of nos. 4, 6 and 7 and Poulsen (*Etr.* 10) of nos. 2, 3, 4 and 8. Nos. 1-4 have the same form of foot, which is that normally used in the Berlin Painter's hydriai. I suppose them to be all by the same potter. No. 5 has a disc foot, and does not look like a vase of the same potter. No. 6 has a ring foot, and this and its general proportions recall some of the Kleophrades Painter's stamnoi. It might be by the potter of 1-4. No. 7 is later; it was decorated by a pupil of the Berlin Painter, and there may be some link on the potter's side. Nos. 3 and 4 cannot be long before 480; no. 2 not long after 490; no. 1 might be earlier still. Beazley, publishing an oenochoe of the same type as no. 8 (Oxford, *CV* pl. 48, 12) observes that the few oenochoi of this shape with figures run through the first

half of the fifth century. In nos. 1 and 5 the whole lip is black; in no. 2 reserved without decoration. In the rest it is reserved with a tongue-pattern on each face of the bevel.

<sup>43</sup> See p. 29 n. 30 above; 03.838, *ARV* 139, no. 126.

<sup>44</sup> The old idea persists into the latest archaic period—witness the Syriskos Painter's London hydria (*ARV* 196, no. 20, with refs.). A slight but pleasant work of the Berlin Painter's maturity, in Madrid (*ARV* 140, no. 130; *BSA* 36, pl. 23; *CV* pl. 13, 1), seems superficially like a reversion to this idea, but there is an immense difference in the character of the composition—spacing of figures, omission of side borders: I should be surprised to learn that the picture on the Boston vase had not been framed.

<sup>45</sup> Langlotz 454, pl. 38; *ARV* 28. The loutrophoros-hydria neck, which Langlotz (*ibid.* 636, pl. 50) ascribes to the same hand, has I think only a superficial resemblance, and has been placed by Beazley in a more appropriate context (*ARV* 23, bottom). I wonder if the fragment 766 (Langlotz, pl. 67; *ARV* 24, top) is not actually from the body of the loutrophoros 636. In the same context I should place the plaque 1042 (Langlotz, pl. 82), and see in it a further link with the fine early vases of Myson (*ARV* 171 f.).

<sup>46</sup> *Berliner Maler*, 15.

<sup>47</sup> *ARV* 191, no. 14; *JHS* XXXII, pl. 2.

<sup>48</sup> *ARV* 382, middle, no. 3; *Mon.* 10, pl. 22, 1; *CV* pl. 46, 5, 7 and 8.

<sup>49</sup> *ARV* 140, no. 138; *Berliner Maler*, pl. 24, 1.

<sup>50</sup> *ARV* 140, no. 136; *Berliner Maler*, pl. 23, 1; *CV* 2, pl. 11, 2; 14, 1.



vases listed in *ARV* there is only one other certain *mêlée*, the beautiful fragments in Erlangen,<sup>51</sup> and possibly two others, the Louvre fragment<sup>52</sup> and the Corinth calyx-krater fragment;<sup>53</sup> and even of these the last is much more likely to be from a single combat. Besides this there are four certain single combats.<sup>54</sup> Apart from these stand the informal fight of Ajax and Odysseus<sup>55</sup> and the deaths of Aegisthos, the Minotaur and Skiron on the Vienna and Florence pelikai; also Achilles lying in wait for Polyxena on the Leningrad hydria,<sup>56</sup> and four late vases with Menelaos pursuing Helen or a related subject.<sup>57</sup>



FIG. 8.—HYDRIA FRAGMENT IN BOSTON (03.838).

The painter is comparatively fond of warriors and amazons not in action: single figures, arming, hoplitodromoi and the like occur in 22 scenes. What specially distinguishes the fight on our vase from those in the painter's maturer works is the use of shields seen in full view from the outside. He uses them commonly enough for single figures, whether in motion or repose, and in quiet scenes of several figures, like armings or preparations for departure, or Achilles in ambush; but it is as though he felt that the big bare circle with the silhouetted figure in the middle arrested the movement of a group of figures in action. At any rate not one is so shown

<sup>51</sup> *ARV* 131, no. 4, not from a pointed amphora, but, as Beazley now points out, from a loutrophoros; Buschor, *Kroton* pl. 3; *AJA* 1935, pl. 9.

<sup>52</sup> *ARV* 143, no. 184 (p. 28 above).

<sup>53</sup> *ARV* 137, no. 88.

<sup>54</sup> *ARV* 138 ff. nos. 102 (both sides), 106 and 132. Add Herakles in combat on the neck of the Villa Giulia volute-krater, p. 23 n. 3 above.

<sup>55</sup> *ARV* 134, no. 39.

<sup>56</sup> Our painter had a partiality for Achilles. Apart from this vase (which probably takes with it, as we saw above, the Madrid hydria) he appears in three of the four certain single combats, and almost certainly in the fourth: the young warrior on *ARV* 138, no. 146, supported by Athena,

despatching a bearded opponent is surely Achilles killing Hector. He must also have figured fighting Memnon on the Erlangen loutrophoros (see note 51) and perhaps pursuing Troilos on the lost vase represented by a ghost on the Vienna pelike. Lastly he appears as a child, being presented to Chiron, on the charming stamnos in the Louvre (*ARV* 138, no. 109). Prologue to these are the stamnos in Palermo (*ARV* no. 108), closely connected with the last, showing his parent's honeymoon visit to the virtuous centaur, and the Aberdeen hydria with their stormy courtship. The little neck-amphora in Madrid mentioned above gives us the epilogue—Ajax and Odysseus quarrelling over the dead hero's armour.

<sup>57</sup> *ARV* 134 ff. nos. 43, 69, 72 and 119.



in the four other fully preserved combats, nor on the surviving fragments of the other three; always it is the narrow profile view or the interior of the circle, where it is broken by the arm with its inner markings, the cushion and the tassels. Yet in our scene there are two shields seen fully from the outside. Indeed the whole effect of the picture, like so much of the artist's earlier work, recalls his masters' rather than his own mature style. Euthymides has left us no fights, as he has left us no vase of this shape, but a fragment by Phintias<sup>58</sup> shows a combat from the body of a volute-krater, and gives a parallel for the unusual motive of a shield pierced by a spear. The general composition however is not closely paralleled in any picture of the Pioneer Group but rather recalls the cup-exterior of Epiktetos, Oltes and their generation, whose later work is nearly contemporary with our vase.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> *ARV* 22, no. 3; *JHS* LI, 41, fig. 1. The shield pierced by a spear recurs in Phintias's work on B of the calyx-krater *ARV* 22, no. 4, there described as 'Fight at Troy'. Sir John Beazley, who points this out to me, adds that he now accepts Löwy's interpretation of the scene as the wounding of Telephos.

<sup>59</sup> The lost Epiktetos, *ARV* 48, no. 39, a late vase, parallels the unheroic way in which the outermost figures bolt from the field, but Epiktetos's fighters have the excuse of being

pitted against Herakles. There are inscriptions on two of the shields on this cup too, as not uncommonly at this time, but the practice continued later, and the Berlin Painter himself writes *καλος* on a wine-skin on a rather later vase (*ARV* 138, no. 111). Other late Epiktetan fights that recall our composition are those on two London cups, E35 (*ARV* 47, no. 36; again with *καλος* on a shield) and 1929.11-11.1. (*ARV* 47, no. 32).



# THE SANCTUARY AND ALTAR OF CHRYSE IN ATTIC RED-FIGURE VASE-PAINTINGS OF THE LATE FIFTH AND EARLY FOURTH CENTURIES B.C.

Two vases exist on which the sanctuary of Chryse is definitely identified by inscriptions. The first is an Attic red-figure stamnos, Louvre G413, attributed to Hermonax, on which is depicted Philoktetes being bitten by the snake at the altar of Chryse.<sup>1</sup> The second is an Attic red-figure bell-krater, Vienna Inv. 1144, of the late fifth century B.C., which depicts Herakles sacrificing at the altar of Chryse. With the first vase may be associated an Attic red-figure calyx-krater, Louvre G342, attributed to the Altamura Painter, which bears no inscriptions, but undoubtedly represents the same scene;<sup>2</sup> and with the second may be grouped four other vases of the late fifth and early fourth centuries B.C., which resemble it sufficiently closely to suggest that they too represent the sanctuary of Chryse. The interpretation of the two Louvre vases has never been in doubt, since they obviously illustrate the story of the biting of Philoktetes by the snake in the sanctuary of Chryse,<sup>3</sup> but the interpretation of the other group of vases has been the subject of some dispute. In this article, therefore, I propose to discuss the connection of these vases with one another and with the two Louvre vases, and to examine their relation to the literary treatment of the legends concerning this sanctuary.

The group consists of the following five vases:—

1. London E494 (Fig. 1). Fragments of an Attic red-figure bell-krater of c. 430 B.C.<sup>4</sup> A bearded man stands to the left of an altar built of large rough stones, on top of which parts of the victim are burning in a fire of logs. Behind the altar and a little to the right is a Doric column supporting a draped female image, the upper part of which is missing; and to the left of the column is a tree with three votive pinakes hanging from the branches. Between the bearded man and the altar a youth (ΦΙΛΟΚΤΕΤ--),<sup>5</sup> of whom only the top of the head remains, holds meat over the fire on a double spit. On the other side of the altar stands a second youth (ΑΙ--), who is also roasting meat on a double spit. To the right of him is part of a draped female figure, and to the right again stands Athene. On the far left of the scene is a curious object which has not yet been identified with certainty.

2. Vienna Inv. 1144 (Fig. 2). Attic red-figure bell-krater of the late fifth century B.C.<sup>6</sup> In the centre is an altar of rough stone slabs with a fire on top, and behind the altar is a Doric column supporting a draped female image (ΧΡΥΣΗ). To the left of the altar Herakles (ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ) turns and beckons to a youth on the left (ΙΟΛΕΩΝ), who is bringing to the altar a bull with a fillet on its horns. On the other side of the altar stands Nike (ΝΙΚΗ), holding a basket containing three twigs in her left hand and a small pot<sup>7</sup> in her right. On the right a naked boy is taking the lid off a casket.

3. Taranto (Fig. 3). Fragments of an Attic red-figure calyx-krater classified as in the manner of the Pronomos Painter and dated late fifth century B.C.<sup>8</sup> To the left of an altar of rough stones stands a man with a sceptre resting against his left shoulder. Behind the altar is an Ionic column supporting a draped female image, and in front of this appears a small pot evidently held by an attendant on the other side of the altar. To the left of the man a youth brings a bull to the altar, while above him a sitting youth converses with a standing youth. Another fragment from the same vase has the legs of a male figure wearing chlamys and boots and the foot of a second figure to the left of these, indicating the presence of at least two figures to the right of the altar. In front of the altar is a casket.

4. Leningrad 43f (Fig. 4). Attic red-figure pelike attributed to the Kiev Painter and dated late fifth century B.C.<sup>9</sup> In the centre is an altar of rough stones with wood on the top, and behind the altar is a Doric column supporting a draped female image. To the left of the image stands Herakles resting on his club and holding a spray of leaves in each hand. On the left a youth brings to the altar a bull with a fillet on its horns. On the other side of the altar stands a youth holding a small pot in his right hand and a basket containing three twigs in his left. On the right Dionysos (?) talks to Apollo, and above them is Athene. Above the youth with the bull is Hermes conversing with Arcs (?).

5. Leningrad 33A (Fig. 5). Fragments of an Attic red-figure volute-krater attributed to the Painter of

<sup>1</sup> CVA III Id. pl. 18.1-4.

<sup>2</sup> CVA III Id. pl. 4.2-3, 5.1-2.

<sup>3</sup> D. Chr. 59.9; Tz. ad Lyc. 911; Eust. 330.1; Sch. II. 2.722; Sch. S. Ph. 194.

<sup>4</sup> Schefold, *JdI* LII, 50.

<sup>5</sup> Professor C. M. Robertson is of the opinion that the  $\varsigma$  in this inscription is confused as if the painter had tried to correct it.

<sup>6</sup> I am indebted to Sir John Beazley for the dating of this vase.

<sup>7</sup> A similar vessel appears on an Attic r.f. fragment (JHS LIX, 23) where the priest appears to be putting his hand

into it. Sir John Beazley there states that it was a kind of measure and suggests that it may have contained the barley-groats for sprinkling on the altar. This function, however, seems less probable here where Nike is also holding a sacrificial basket in which the barley was usually carried along with the sacrificial knife and fillets (Sch. Ar. Pax 956). Perhaps the measure here contains incense, which was sometimes burnt on the altar in the same way.

<sup>8</sup> ARV, 850.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 852. Schefold, *loc. cit.*, attributes this vase to the Pronomos Painter and dates it c. 390 A.C.





FIG. 1.—FRAGMENTS OF ATTIC R.F. BELL-KRATER, LONDON E494.  
(By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.)



FIG. 2.—ATTIC R.F. BELL-KRATER, VIENNA INV. 1144.  
(By permission of the Kunsthistorisches Museum.)



the New York Centauromachy and dated early fourth century B.C.<sup>10</sup> In the centre is an altar of rough stones with wood on top, and behind it is an acanthus-column. To the left of the altar Herakles (- - - ΚΑΗΞ) stands leaning on a stick and holding a fillet for the victim. On the left is a boy (ΑΙΧΑΣ) bringing a bull to the altar, and behind the bull is a Doric column supporting a tripod. To the right of the altar stands a youth holding a pot in his right hand and a basket containing three twigs in his left. Above and to the right are the knees of a seated figure, while the drapery above Lichas may belong to a second seated figure.

These vase-paintings have been variously explained. Vienna 1144 was first published by Uhden,<sup>11</sup> who explained the scene as representing the sacrifice offered by Herakles on his way to Troy<sup>12</sup> and read the inscription over the youth with the bull as ΙΟΛΕΩΝ for Iolaos, quoting Suidas for 'Ιόλεως as the Attic form of the name.<sup>13</sup> The unnamed boy he identified as Philoktetes, who was said to have been present at this sacrifice. Millingen,<sup>14</sup> however, took the inscription as ΙΗΣΩΝ, marking the second two letters as doubtful, and explained the episode as the founding of the altar by the Argonauts.<sup>15</sup> This interpretation was generally accepted,<sup>16</sup> the subordinate position of Iason being explained by traces of a tradition according to which Herakles and not Iason was the leader of the Argonauts.<sup>17</sup> The inscription has also been restored in various other ways.<sup>18</sup> Dr. F. Eichler of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, however, has sent me a tracing of the inscription, in which it clearly appears as ΙΟΛΕΩΝ, and he states that, although the Λ is faint, clear traces of it can be seen under a lens. This entirely rules out the reading ΙΗΣΩΝ, and supports Uhden's theory that the two youths are Iolaos and Philoktetes.

In 1845 Gerhard<sup>19</sup> for the first time connected London E494 with Vienna 1144, interpreting both as the Argonautic sacrifice. The British Museum Catalogue of Vases of 1851<sup>20</sup> also described these fragments as representing a sacrifice offered by Herakles to Chryse, but identified the youth on the right as Philoktetes, the inscription ΦΙΛΟΚΕΤ . . . having been found on one of the fragments. Others took the inscription as a καλός-name<sup>21</sup> or a potter's signature,<sup>22</sup> but these theories were soon disproved by the discovery of the inscription ΑΙ . . . , and in the British Museum Catalogue of 1896 A. S. Murray<sup>23</sup> described the two youths as Philoktetes and Lichas. He also stated that it had been found impossible to join Athene to the draped figure without ruining both the shape of the vase and the proportions of Athene.<sup>24</sup>

The presence of Lichas on London E494 led Murray to connect these fragments with the scene on Leningrad 33A,<sup>25</sup> which had been explained by Stephani<sup>26</sup> as the sacrifice performed by Herakles on Mt. Kenaion just before his death. He accordingly described the object behind Herakles as the poisoned robe<sup>27</sup> and took the whole scene to represent a confusion between the sacrifice to Chryse and a sacrifice to Zeus Patroos on Mt. Oite.<sup>28</sup> More recently this theory was discarded by Schefold,<sup>29</sup> who took all three vases as representing a sacrifice to Chryse and

<sup>10</sup> Beazley, *op. cit.* 870. Schefold, *loc. cit.*, attributes this vase to the Talos Painter and dates it c. 390 B.C.

<sup>11</sup> *Abh. Berl. Akad.*, (1810) 63 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Sch. S. Ph. 194. Cf. Philostr. *Jun. Im.* 17.2; Arg. S. Ph.

<sup>13</sup> Suid. s.v. 'Ιόλεως.

<sup>14</sup> *PVA* pl. 51, pp. 76 ff. (1813).

<sup>15</sup> Philostr. *Jun. loc. cit.*; *AP* 15.25 (Besant. *Ara*), 15.26 (Dosiad. *Ara*).

<sup>16</sup> Inghirami pl. 17, p. 39; de Witte, *Catalogue Durand* 113 no. 322; *El.* 2 p. 361; Guignaut & Creuzer, *Rel. de l'ant.*, pl. 94.354; Gerhard, *AZ* (1845) 161 ff., pl. 35 (reading ΙΑΣΩΝ in text, ΔΟΕΩΝ in illustration), *AVB* 3 p. 21 nn. 5 & 6; Muller, *Denkm.* 1.10, pl. 2; Milani, *Filottete* 61 f., pl. 1.1, *Annali* LIII 284 ff.

<sup>17</sup> D.S. 4.41.

<sup>18</sup> ΙΟΕΩΝ, Laborde 1 p. 30; Ι.ΟΕΩΝ, Arneth, *Das K.K. Münz- und Antiken-Kabinet*, 22 no. 276; ΔΟΕΩΝ, *AZ* (1845) pl. 35.1 (this is stated by Gerhard to be the reading of Arneth); ΔΟΕΩΝ, Jahn, *Arch. Anz.* (1854) 451 no. 275 and von Sacken & Kenner, *Die Sammlungen des K.K. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinetes* 243 no. 276; ΤΕΛΑΜΩΝ, Stephani, *CRend* (1873) 227 and Flasch, *Angewandte Argonautenbilder* 17 f.; ΔΟΕΩΝ, Stengel, *Die Griechischen Kultusaltertümer* pl. 3, fig. 11.

<sup>19</sup> Gerhard, *AZ*, (1845) 178 f., pl. 35.2. Raoul-Rochette, in his *Peint. ant. ind.*, 401 ff., pl. 6, had already published

it simply as a sacrifice of the heroic age.

<sup>20</sup> Birch & Newton, *Catalogue of Greek & Etruscan Vases in the British Museum* I 248 no. 804\*. Cf. Flasch, *op. cit.*, 19 ff.

<sup>21</sup> Michaelis, *Annali* XXIX 243.

<sup>22</sup> C. Smith, *JHS* IX 1 ff., pl. 1. Cf. Engelmann, *Bilder-atlas zu Homer (Od.)* pl. 4, fig. 17.

<sup>23</sup> *BMC Vases* III, 300 ff., pl. 16.

<sup>24</sup> C. Smith had wished to join the head of Athene to the draped figure and take the scene as a sacrifice to Athene on the Akropolis at Athens.

<sup>25</sup> He was followed in this by A. H. Smith (*JHS* XVIII 274 ff.), who quoted Bakchylides 16.13 ff. to account for the presence of Athene on the London fragments.

<sup>26</sup> *CRend* (1869) 179 ff.

<sup>27</sup> This is highly unlikely. If the scene represented the sacrifice on Mt. Kenaion, Herakles would be wearing the poisoned robe; but here we have the very end of the sacrifice with the meat being roasted over the altar-fire, and the robe is supposed still to be hanging up behind Herakles!

<sup>28</sup> The reference to Mt. Oite is surely an error. Herakles made no sacrifice on Mt. Oite, for he was already dying when he was brought there. The description of the sacrifice to Zeus Patroos in the *Trachiniai* of Sophokles (*S. Tr.* 237 f., 287 ff., 752 ff.), which Murray cites, refers to the sacrifice on Mt. Kenaion.

<sup>29</sup> *Jdl* LII 50. ff., fig. 10.





FIG. 3.—FRAGMENTS OF ATTIC R.F. CALYX-KRATER, TARANTO. (By permission of the R. Museo Nazionale, Taranto.)



FIG. 4.—ATTIC R.F. PELIKE, LENINGRAD 43F. (By permission of the Hermitage Museum.)



compared with them Leningrad 43f, which he himself had already published.<sup>30</sup> He further assumed the existence of a wall-painting dated c. 440 B.C., from which all these vase-paintings were copied. The object to the left of Herakles on London E494 he explained as part of a ship,<sup>31</sup> an explanation which had already been suggested by Hauser. The Taranto fragments have now been added to the series by Sir John Beazley,<sup>32</sup> who suggested that they might represent a sacrifice to Chryse.

In spite of the plausibility of the theory which interprets London E494 and Leningrad 33A as the sacrifice on Mt. Kenaion, there can be little doubt that all the vases in this group represent the same scene. In each instance Herakles<sup>33</sup> is shown sacrificing a bull at an altar of rough stones with the assistance of two youths.<sup>34</sup> On four of the vases there is the statue of a goddess set on a pillar behind the altar, while on the fifth its place is taken by an acanthus-column, which may have been conceived as supporting an image, just as similar columns support tripods in another red-figure vase-painting.<sup>35</sup> These marked similarities make it probable that all five vases depict the same episode, which can be certainly identified, by means of the inscriptions on Vienna 1144, as a sacrifice to Chryse. This interpretation is supported by the presence of a similar image and altar on Louvre G342 and G413, which are also known to depict the sanctuary of Chryse. The presence of Athene on London E494 might be explained on the grounds that Chryse was sometimes identified with Athene,<sup>36</sup> but it is more probable that she is present as the patron and helper of Herakles, as she frequently appears in Greek art.

The sacrifice is evidently that offered by Herakles on his way to Troy, as is indicated by the presence of Philoktetes on London E494. The theory which explained the sacrifice as that offered by the Argonauts at the founding of the altar is far less probable. Its main support was the reading of the inscription on Vienna 1144 as ΙΗΣΩΝ, and this has now been shown to be untenable. Moreover, the legend attributes the founding of the altar, not to Herakles, but to Iason; and there is no evidence for supposing that Philoktetes accompanied Herakles on the Argonautic expedition, whereas it is specifically mentioned that he was with Herakles at the sacrifice to Chryse on the way to Troy. It is simplest to suppose that all five vases represent this sacrifice and that in each instance one of the two youths is Philoktetes, as required by the legend, while the other is variously described as Iolaos or Lichas, who were both known to have been attendants of Herakles. The fact that Lichas was present at the sacrifice on Mt. Kenaion is no reason for supposing that he could not also have been present at that to Chryse, for Philoktetes is known to have been present at both and Lichas may have been also.

The appearance of the sanctuary on all the vases agrees with the descriptions of it in literature. The presence of trees on London E494 and Vienna 1144 indicates an open-air sanctuary, as described by Sophokles.<sup>37</sup> The form of the altar is especially significant, for rough stone altars are rare in vase-paintings,<sup>38</sup> and it is therefore noteworthy that not only is the altar of this type on all five vases in this group, but the altars on the two Louvre vases, though somewhat different in general appearance, are of similarly crude and improvised construction. We should be justified in assuming from this that legend ascribed a rough stone altar to this sanctuary, and in fact we have traces of a literary tradition to this effect. The metrical argument to the *Philoktetes* of Sophokles refers to the altar of Chryse as βωμὸν ἐπικρυψμένον, while Tzetzes speaks

<sup>30</sup> Schefold, *U.*, figs. 70, 71.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. parts of ships on other red-figure vases, e.g., Bologna 303, *Mon.* sup. pl. 21, and Ruvo, Jatta, 1501, *AZ* (1846) pl. 44-45.

<sup>32</sup> Beazley, *op. cit.*, 850.

<sup>33</sup> The identity of the sacrificer is less certain on the Taranto fragments, where he has no attribute and there are no inscriptions, but the similarity between these fragments and the two Leningrad vases makes it highly probable that all three depict the same scene.

<sup>34</sup> On the Taranto fragments only one youth appears assisting at the sacrifice, but there was probably a second youth on the missing part of the vase. The small pot held in front of the column clearly indicates the presence of an attendant to the right of the altar.

<sup>35</sup> Leningrad (St. 1790), *CRand* (1866) pl. 4.1.

<sup>36</sup> Arg. 1 *S. Ph.*; *AP* 15.25 (Besant. *Ara*); Tz. ad Lyc. 911; Sch. II. 2.722; Sch. *S. Ph.* 194, 1326. Sophokles, however, seems to have regarded Chryse as a separate goddess (*S. Ph.* 194, 1327). Cf. Eust. 330.1.

<sup>37</sup> *S. Ph.* 1326.

<sup>38</sup> An altar of this type is depicted on a red-figure bell-krater (Naples Market, *AZ*, 1853, p. 59); and low altars of rough stones appear on a red-figure hydria (Berlin 2380, *AZ*, 1867, pl. 222), on a red-figure column-krater (Louvre K343, *FR.* 3 p. 365), and on a red-figure bell-krater (Syra-cuse 41621, *CVA* III 1 pl. 22.1), all depicting Orestes taking refuge at the altar from the Erinyes. There is a low altar of small pebble-like stones on a white-ground lekythos (Berlin 2251, Benndorf pl. 27.3). There seem to be no other examples of rough stone altars in vase-paintings.



of it as *κεχωσμένον βωμόν*.<sup>39</sup> Jebb was puzzled by these epithets,<sup>40</sup> since he felt that they should mean 'heaped-up', but could see no point in so describing an altar. He therefore took it as meaning 'defiled with débris' and suggested translating *ἐκάθαρεν* in Tzetzes as 'cleansed' rather than 'purified'. This description of the altar, however, evidently reflects the tradition which was followed by the vase-painters when they depicted the altar as a heap of stones. *χώω* is more usually used of mounds of earth, but there is no reason why it should not here be used of a mound of stones, and there seems to be no doubt that the epithets do in fact denote an altar of the kind depicted in the vase-paintings.



FIG. 5.—FRAGMENTS OF ATTIC R.F. VOLUTE-KRATER, LENINGRAD 33A.  
(By permission of the Hermitage Museum.)

Schefold supposed that the vases in this group were copied from a wall-painting of c. 440 B.C., and this seems at first sight to be highly probable. There are, however, certain differences between the vase-paintings, which one would not expect if they had been copied from a single original or from one another. London E494 represents the end of the sacrifice with portions of the victim burning on the altar and the meat being roasted on spits, while the other four vase-paintings represent the beginning with the victim being led to the altar. The persons present at the sacrifice vary: Nike is present on Vienna 1144 and perhaps also on London E494, but not on Leningrad 43f; Athene appears in company with other gods on Leningrad 43f, as the sole spectator on London E494, and not at all on Vienna 1144; the two youths are Philoktetes and Lichas on London E494 and probably on Leningrad 33A also, but one of the youths on Vienna

<sup>39</sup> Arg. 1 S. Ph.; Tz. loc. cit.

<sup>40</sup> Jebb, *Sophocles: the Philoktetes* 4 n. 1.



1144 is Iolaos; on the Taranto fragments several youths take the place of the assembly of gods on Leningrad 43f. On Leningrad 33A the usual column and image of Chryse are replaced by an acanthus-column, while the exact form of the altar differs slightly in each instance. It is possible that the two Leningrad vases and the Taranto fragments may be copied from a common original, since their differences of detail are to some extent offset by a general similarity in the grouping and attitudes of the figures<sup>41</sup> and in the shape of the stones of which the altar is constructed, but these resemblances are not shared by London E494 and Vienna 1144, which differ markedly both from one another and from the other three vases.<sup>42</sup> Such differences would be strange if all these vase-paintings were copied from a single wall-painting; but they are quite reasonable if we suppose them to be based on a single verbal description which mentioned a sacrifice at an altar of rough stones set in front of an image of Chryse and named Herakles and Philoktetes as present, leaving most of the other details to the imagination of the hearers. Such a description may well have been contained in the *Philoktetes* of Euripides, which was produced in 431 B.C.,<sup>43</sup> shortly before the probable date of the earliest of the vases in this group. It is quite likely that in the course of this play Philoktetes described how, as a boy, he accompanied Herakles to the sanctuary of Chryse and how he subsequently visited it on his way to the Trojan War and was bitten by the snake; and it is possible that a vivid description was given of the sanctuary with its ancient altar and image. Many vase-painters of this period drew their inspiration from the theatre,<sup>44</sup> and the influence of a successful play might well continue for many years after its original production, since the memory of it would be strengthened by revivals at the lesser dramatic festivals outside Athens. It is probable that the later vases of this group owe their existence to such a revival. The absence of theatrical costumes in these vase-paintings need be no objection, since the episode in question did not form part of the action of the play, but would merely be described by one of the characters, so that the paintings would not have been influenced by the scene upon the stage.

The two Louvre vases, which depict the biting of Philoktetes, also differ from one another in a way that suggests that both were based on a description rather than on a picture, but the vases are earlier in date and appear to follow an earlier tradition in which the appearance of the altar was less clearly described. The original account of the altar evidently made it clear that it was an improvised structure, but did not define the exact method of its construction, so that, whereas in Louvre G413 it appears as a few stones grouped together on the ground, Louvre G342 depicts it as a mound of earth, or possibly a roughly shaped piece of rock. By c. 430 B.C., however, the altar is established as a pile of large stones, and so it appears in all the five vase-paintings under discussion. As to whether there was an actual sanctuary of Chryse in existence in the fifth century B.C. with a primitive altar and image, it is impossible to be certain. It is more likely that Euripides, if he did indeed give an account of the sanctuary, derived the details partly from some earlier poet's description and partly from his own imagination, than that he had any first-hand knowledge of the sanctuary itself.

My thanks are due to Mr. Bernard Ashmole, Sir John Beazley, Professor C. M. Robertson and Professor T. B. L. Webster for their many helpful suggestions and comments; to Lady Beazley for supplying me with photographs of the Taranto fragments; to Dr. F. Eichler for information about the Vienna krater and for a photograph of it; to Mr. M. Goukovsky for photographs of the Leningrad vases; and to Dott. Ciro Drago for a drawing of the Taranto fragments.

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<sup>41</sup> The attitude of Herakles is identical on the two Leningrad vases, except that on Leningrad 33A a stick is substituted for the club of Leningrad 43f, and a fillet for the two sprays of leaves.

<sup>42</sup> Thus, even if the two Leningrad vases and the Taranto fragments are to be grouped together, there must have been at least three independent representations of this scene:

London E494 of c. 430 B.C.; Vienna 1144 of the late fifth century; and a wall-painting or a third vase-painting of about the same date, from which the Leningrad vases and the Taranto fragments may have been derived.

<sup>43</sup> *Arg. 2 E. Med.*

<sup>44</sup> Bieber, *Greek & Roman Theater* 49 ff.



## THE LYCURGEAN REFORM AT SPARTA

PRIOR to 1918 the so-called Lycurgean reform at Sparta was dated not later than the ninth century B.C. As Grote<sup>1</sup> aptly said, 'it would seem, in the absence of better evidence, that a date [about 830-820 B.C.] . . . is more probable than any epoch either later or earlier'. In 1918 Wilamowitz-Möllerndorff<sup>2</sup> published what he considered to be better evidence—a fragmentary poem which was ascribed by him to Tyrtæus and which was believed to indicate that in the latter part of the seventh century B.C. the Spartan army was still brigaded by the three Dorian tribes, Hylleis, Pamphyloi, and Dymanes. In the light of this new evidence—new, that is, to us but not to the ancient authorities—he and other scholars have shifted the date of the reform by a couple of centuries or more into the late seventh or middle sixth century. The shift of date flouts all the other evidence of the ancient authorities (Tyrtæus, Herodotus, Thucydides, Aristotle, Plutarch, etc.); in consequence these authorities are held to be mistaken, their manuscripts to be corrupt, their meanings to be other than they appear, or their views to be due to misconceptions which modern scholars can dispel. The result is that the ancient evidence has been severely tousled. The more logical the scholar is, the further he is impelled to discountenance all the other ancient evidence—once he has accepted Wilamowitz-Möllerndorff's interpretation of the meaning of the new fragment. In this paper the view is advanced that the ancient authorities are in general sound both in manuscript and in meaning and that the new fragment does not yield the conclusive evidence for a late dating which has been supposed.<sup>3</sup> It should also be noted that two of the supports on which the late dating once rested have been undermined by the re-dating of the archaeological evidence at Sparta and by the realisation that hoplite warfare commenced at Sparta c. 700 B.C. In Part I of the paper the ancient evidence is re-considered and in Part II the general conclusions are stated.<sup>4</sup>

### I

#### THE GREAT RHETRA (Plutarch *Lycurgus* VI)

The authenticity of the Rhetra is discussed in Part II of this paper. It is assumed here that the Rhetra is genuine in the sense that Plutarch's text deriving from a text in Aristotle *Lakonon Politeia* is based on a document at Sparta which was believed to record the original reform of the Spartan state. Our text is not a transcription of the Spartan document, for it is mainly in Attic and not in Laconian (or Delphian) dialect. Yet in a document of such importance to a constitutional historian it may be assumed that Aristotle's text is true in other respects to the original.

Διὸς Σουλανίου καὶ Ἀθανᾶς Σουλανίας ἱερὸν ἰδρυσάμενον (MSS. -ος), φυλὰς φυλάξαντα καὶ ὠβὰς ὠβάξαντα, τριάκοντα γερούσιαν σὺν ἀρχαγέταις καταστήσαντα, ὥρας ἐξ ὥρας ἀπελλάζειν μεταξὺ Βαβύκας τε καὶ Κνακίωνος, οὕτως εἰσφέρειν τε καὶ ἀφίστασθαι, † γαμῶδαν γορίαν † ἦμεν<sup>4a</sup> καὶ κράτος.

<sup>1</sup> *History of Greece* II 458; Busolt, *GG* I 519 f., though disbelieving in any sweeping reform, puts the institutions of Sparta in the same early period. The view of Meyer *Forschungen* I (1892) that the evidence is all an invention of c. 400 B.C. seems to me untenable.

<sup>2</sup> *SBB* 1918 728 f.

<sup>3</sup> The most thorough advocate of the date c. 600 B.C. is Wade-Gery, whose articles in *CQ* XXXVII-XXXVIII support his account in *CAH* III, and of the date c. 550 B.C. Ehrenberg, *Neugründer des Staates* (1925) with important modifications in *Epitambion Swoboda* (1927) 19 f. and in *Hermes* LXVIII (1933) 288 f. Although I disagree with their conclusions, I should express the deep debt which I

owe to their works and those of many others.

<sup>4</sup> Part of this paper was read to the Cambridge Philological Society in January 1949. I am most grateful to Professor Adcock, Professor Wade-Gery, and Mr. R. M. Cook for their generous advice and criticism. The views and the synthesis set out in this paper are my own, but they have been formed in part by some of the many works on this subject. It has seemed best not to cumber this article with too many detailed references to these works, for it is in the nature of the subject that almost everyone agrees with someone at some point.

<sup>4a</sup> ἦμεν GL: ἦμεν Z.



The punctuation of the sentences in the Rhetra is dictated by the parallelism of the aorist participles and by the parallelism of the present infinitives. Thus τριάκοντα goes with γερούσιαν, and the division between Κνωκίωνος and the following clause is marked by οὕτως.<sup>5</sup> The meaning of the aorist participles is clearly shown by ἰδρυσάμενον: *ipso facto* this marks a new foundation, and the other aorist participles should have the same meaning.<sup>6</sup> The opening part of the Rhetra should therefore be translated: 'Found a (new) sanctuary to Zeus Sullanios and Athena Sullania, form (new) tribes and obes, set up a (new) membership of thirty for the Gerousia including the archagetai.' In this translation emphasis is given, as it should be, to the order of the Greek words. Thus τριάκοντα is the significant word in the last phrase. For that reason therefore Plutarch discusses this number.<sup>7</sup> The break with the past lies in the establishment of a new cult, of a tribal-obal organisation, and of a membership of thirty including the kings for the Gerousia. It does not necessarily follow from the Rhetra that the Gerousia itself was a new feature. This, however, is certainly implied by Plutarch (*Lyce.* V) and, as we shall see, by Herodotus, but their meaning may be that the Gerousia, as it was later known (i.e. of thirty members including the kings), was founded at this time. But, whatever their meaning, the wording of the Rhetra stresses the number and not the Gerousia.

In the following sentences the word-order is again important, and the three infinitives in the present tense indicate a continuous and not a single process. 'From season to season assemble between Babuka and Knakion.' The phrase ὥρας ἐξ ὥρας probably means 'for ever and ever', that is 'in perpetuity', rather than from one specific time to another, e.g. monthly or annually.<sup>8</sup> The word-order emphasises the continuity of the practice henceforth. The place of meeting is presumably mentioned because it was an innovation.<sup>9</sup> The emphasis on οὕτως is presumably intended to stress the antecedent conditions under which business is to be conducted. 'Under these conditions introduce-and-adjourn.' The meaning of εἰσφέρειν τε καὶ ἀφίστασθαι is not clear at first sight. In Attic εἰσφέρειν is used absolutely for introducing a proposal before a deliberative body (whether Ecclesia or Boule).<sup>10</sup> Those who introduce the proposal in this case are presumably the Gerontes and the Kings, as Plutarch states in his commentary, and they introduce their proposals to the assembly.

The meaning of ἀφίστασθαι depends upon the decision whether the form is middle or passive. The decision is given in favour of the middle form by Plutarch in the same chapter; for when he is commenting on the rider to the Rhetra he uses ἀφίστασθαι in the middle voice in

<sup>5</sup> The emendations καὶ τῶς, οὕτως and τούτως (cf. W-G, *CQ* XXXVII 62) for οὕτως are unnecessary, because οὕτως is perfectly intelligible, and are not in keeping with the brevity and form of the Rhetra.

<sup>6</sup> W-G, *CQ* XXXVIII 117, argues that 'the sanctuary of Zeus and Athena, the ordering of the Phylai and Obai, have been prescribed in detail already' and that 'the things which are left unspecified had no doubt been specified in earlier enactments'. Neither the first nor the third of the participial phrases are unspecific (at least if my interpretation of the third is acceptable). The clause giving the Phylai and Obai is not specific, and it is true that some specification is required; that may have come later in the same rhetra or in an earlier one (for it is unlikely that any clause could precede Zeus in this rhetra). But the specification is presumably close at hand, not as Wade-Gery would have it in the traditional 'Dorian Tribes . . . which purported to be descended from Herakles' three sons'. If these are the Phylai referred to by the Rhetra they are age-old and need no emphasis or mention here. Yet they occupy the emphatic part of the clause and are linked by καὶ to the obes in a rhetra where asyndeton is the rule. This shows that there is a relationship between the two, and the probability is that both are new. This is emphatically stated by W-M *SBB* 1918 734 'darin kann ich auch jetzt nur die Schaffung von neuen Phylen finden', although the admission compels him to date the reform to a date later than Tyrtaeus fr. I.

<sup>7</sup> Aristotle *Pol.* 1272a, in drawing the similarities between the constitutions of Crete and Sparta, also dwells on the number of the Gerousia. That τριάκοντα is accusative and not (as Treu *Hermes* LXXVI supposes) genitive, is clear

from the parallelism of the participial clauses; cf. also von Blumenthal *Hermes* LXXVII (1942) 212 f.

<sup>8</sup> Similar phrases such as εἰς ὥρας mean 'for all time' (cf. L. & S. ὥρα A3 and B4), their meaning being often emphasised by association with αἰὼς or a similar word as in Homer *Od.* IX 135 αἰὼς εἰς ὥρας, Arist. *Thesm.* 950 πολλὰς αἰῶνι ἐκ τῶν ὥρων εἰς τὸς ὥρας συνεπυχνόμενος τοιαῦτα μῦθους δᾶμ' ἰαντῶ, and Theocr. XV 74 καὶς ὥρας κήματα; the closest and clearest parallel is Isyllus B16 (ed. W-M. *Philol. Untersuch.* IX) ὥρας ἐξ ὥρων νόμου αἰὼς τόνδε οἰσπορίας where the phrase may be prompted by the Rhetra. However, W-G, *CQ* XXXVII 68 states 'the meetings were surely monthly', with the note 'ὥρας ἐξ ὥρας must mean either monthly or yearly'; so too Ehrenberg *NdS* 26 'regelmässig jeden Monat'; and Treu *Hermes* LXXVI 39 'von Zeit zu Zeit (Vollmond zu Vollmond)', reading ὥρας ἐξ ὥρων, and adducing the Scholiast to Thuc. I 67 τὸν εὐθέστα λαγνὴ ἐλλογόν, ὅτι ἐν παλαιῇ καὶ ἰσχυρῇ αἰ., which may be evidence for fifth century Spartan practice but sheds no direct light on ὥρας ἐξ ὥρας. For the essence of the phrase lies in its general character, and it can no more be said to imply a specific date in terms of months, seasons or years than our phrases 'year in, year out', 'in and out of season', and 'forever and a day'. I am grateful to Mr. A. S. F. Gow for drawing my attention to examples of this type of phrase and their meaning.

<sup>9</sup> That it continued into classical times as the Spartiates' place of assembly is clear from Plut. *Periob.* XVII οὗ καὶ ἐδρώτας οὗθ' ὁ μεταξὺ Βαβύκος καὶ Κνωκίωνος τόπος ἀνδρῶν ἱερὸν μαχητάς.

<sup>10</sup> Aristotle *Pol.* 1273b and Plato *Laus* 772c.



the phrase τοῦτ' ἔστι μὴ κυροῦν ἀλλ' ὁλως ἀφίστασθαι καὶ διαλύειν τὸν δῆμον. His meaning is that the Gerontes and the Kings do not ratify the crooked opinion of the people but in short adjourn and dissolve the (assembly of the) people. On Plutarch's interpretation the subject of ἀφίστασθαι in the Rhetra is the Gerontes and the Kings. The injunction is that they should introduce proposals to the assembly and adjourn the assembly.<sup>11</sup>

Any attempt to emend the text of the last clause must take account of the following factors. As the corruption is common to all three MSS. and as these are of the tenth and eleventh centuries, the earlier text from which the corruption springs was probably written in capitals. Plutarch's text of the Rhetra is not in Laconian dialect<sup>12</sup> and employs only one Doricism, the substitution of α for η. His commentary explains the unusual words in the rest of the Rhetra; therefore his text here contained no unusual or obscure word. The sense of the restored text should conform with Tyrtaeus fragment 3 (quoted on p. 47) and with Plutarch's explanatory sentence: τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ἀθροισθέντος εἰπεῖν μὲν οὐδενὶ γνώμην τῶν ἄλλων ἐφείτο τὴν δ' ὑπὸ τῶν γερόντων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων προτεθείσαν ἐπικρίναι κύριος ἦν ὁ δῆμος.

These factors militate against the emendation<sup>13</sup> δάμω δ' ἀνταγορίαν ἤμεν καὶ κράτος. For ἀνταγορία does not occur in Greek and its meaning, if it be 'to speak against the proposals of the Gerousia', is not reflected in Plutarch or in Tyrtaeus. The form δάμω is inconsistent with Plutarch's text, e.g. Συλλανίου. The emendation also adds two letters to the text, introduces the connexion δέ whereas the other clauses of the Rhetra are in asyndeton, and affords no explanation for the corruption of Δ into Γ. A recent emendation<sup>14</sup> δαμωδᾶν γορίαν ἤμεν καὶ κράτος has the disadvantage that γορία does not occur in Greek and has to be explained as an early Indo-European form. Yet Plutarch could not have failed to comment on so strange a word. The Teubner text, reading δαμωὶ δὲ τὰν κυρίαν ἤμεν καὶ κράτος, supplies a sense compatible with Plutarch and Tyrtaeus. But the use of the article and of two synonymous terms does not fit the terseness of the Rhetra; nor is the corruption easily explicable. A simpler emendation is δαμοτᾶν ἀγοράν ἤμεν καὶ κράτος. The sense and diction conform with Tyrtaeus' words in frag. 3 ἐπειτα δὲ δημότας ἀνδρας - - - - - μυθεῖσθαι - - - - - δῆμον τε πλήθει νίκην καὶ κάρτος ἐπεσθαι and with Plutarch's phrase τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ἀθροισθέντος. The words are common and require no commentary.<sup>15</sup> The corruption from ΔΑΜΟΤΑΝ to ΓΑΜΩΔΑΝ may be attributed<sup>16</sup> to a scribe's error in transposing Δ and Τ, the latter becoming Γ. Once this corruption occurred, the Ο might become Ω and ΑΓΟΡΑΝ become ΓΟΡΙΑΝ, leaving the total number of letters the same.

The most satisfactory emendation then is δαμοτᾶν ἀγοράν ἤμεν καὶ κράτος, although it is far from certain. Fortunately little depends on its certainty for the purposes of the present

<sup>11</sup> Examples of the middle use of ἀφίστασθαι are given in L & S; they take their meaning from the context in each case, and the literal sense of the verb is consistent with the translation given above for Plut. *Lyc.* VI, a passage for which there is no parallel. The middle use of the verb in a similar context but with a different compound occurs in Thuc. I 79, 1 μεταστησάμενοι πάντας and V 111, 2 μεταστησάμενοι ἐπὶ ἡμᾶς, where the meaning is 'to make to adjourn'. This interpretation is also in harmony with the use of ἀποστατήρ in the Rider (below p. 45). On the other hand W-G, *CQ* XXXVII 69 translates ἀφίστασθαι in the Rhetra as 'decline to bring motions forward' and in Plutarch's phrase as 'that is they shall not validate it but simply reject it'. He admits that Plutarch cannot be giving this sense to ἀφίστασθαι, but he holds that Plutarch 'must be wrong'. In support of his view W-G adduces Thuc. IV 118, 9 οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἀποστήσονται, ὅσα ἂν εἰκαῖα λέγῃται, οὗτοι δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὗτοι δὲ σύμμαχοι where he translates ἀποστήσονται as 'decline to entertain a proposal'. This is however a paraphrase. The literal translation is 'they will not stand aside from any of the claims you (the Athenians) may make'. Here ἀποστήσονται is passive in meaning and governs a genitive. The same is true of his other analogy in Pindar *Ol.* 152. Neither is analogous to ἀφίστασθαι in the Rhetra or to ἀφίστασθαι καὶ διαλύειν τὸν δῆμον in Plutarch's commentary. There is also a further difficulty in W-G's interpretation. In the Rhetra

he takes ἀφίρειν to refer to proposals in the assembly but he refers ἀφίστασθαι in his sense to the 'preliminary probouleutic process', that is to the process in the Gerousia. But as ἀφίρειν τε καὶ ἀφίστασθαι is so closely coupled it is unnatural to suppose it to refer to procedure in different places. Another interpretation is given e.g. by H. W. Parke, *The Delphic Oracle* (1939) 105 who paraphrases the Rhetra as 'proposals are to be brought forward and divisions taken'. The normal phrase however is δίστασθαι, cf. Thuc. I 87, 3, and this compound seems essential for such a meaning. For the interpretation 'Abstimmlassen' cf. Ehrenberg *Hermes* LXVIII 298. Cf. below n. 21 for the word ἀφίστασθαι.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. W-M *Arist. n. Ath.* II 24 n. 24.

<sup>13</sup> W-G, *CQ* XXXVII 64 and *Treu Hermes* LXXVI 22 f., who supplies a list of earlier emendations in an interesting article which was accessible to me only when this paper was in the final stage.

<sup>14</sup> Von Blumenthal in *Hermes* LXXVII 212.

<sup>15</sup> The demes of Attica had their *agora* (e.g. *IG* II 585 and cf. *LS*<sup>9</sup> ἀγορά 1) and the word is explained as συνίδριον φυλατῶν ἢ δημοτῶν in Bekker *Anecd. Gr.* I 327. The assembly in Crete was also styled *agora* cf. Bekker *Anecd. Gr.* I 210, Law of Gortyn X 33 f. and XI 10 f.

<sup>16</sup> This suggestion I owe to Professor Robertson; cf. also Ziegler *Rh. Mus.* 76 (1927), 24. I have also had the advantage of discussing the passage with Mr. Beattie.



argument. For Plutarch and Tyrtæus have supplied the sense of the passage, which is now corrupt, and they enable us to grasp the procedure enjoined by the Rhetra. Under the new conditions, which the participial phrases lay down, the Gerousia (including the Kings) and the people meet in the Apella. There the Gerousia alone has power to introduce proposals and to adjourn the Apella; the commons form the assembly<sup>17</sup> which receives the proposals and has power of decision thereon. At the time of the Rhetra, the term ἀγορά probably implied not a passive assembly but one possessing the right of speech;<sup>18</sup> whether this was implicit or not, Tyrtæus asserts that right of speech in reference to the First Messenian War, and Plutarch assumes it for the earlier period when he states that subsequently to the passage of the Rhetra the people violated and distorted the proposals by addition and subtraction (ἀφαιρέσει καὶ προσθήσει *Lyc.* 6 and 13). In other words, discussion by the people might lead to modification of the original proposals; such modification would be made by the Gerousia, in whom the right of proposal is vested, and not by the people, who only discuss and decide by vote. The right of discussion was therefore at the time of the Rhetra an important factor in the constitution.

The fact that the Rhetra is in the accusative and infinitive is not surprising. This usage is a common alternative to the imperative in archaic documents. The subject of the first infinitive ἀπελλάζειν is also the subject of the three participles. Plutarch's comment τὸ δὲ ἀπελλάζειν ἐκκλησιάζειν enlightens us at this point; for the classical use of ἐκκλησιάζειν is to assemble in an assembly and not to convene an assembly. Therefore the subject of ἀπελλάζειν is the entire people, who are divided in the following infinitives into the Gerousia and the Demos. The foundation of the shrine of Zeus and Athena shows that the assembling of the people was held under religious auspices, which continued in classical times to be implicit in the word ἀπελλα and its derivatives.<sup>19</sup> Both in form and in brevity the Rhetra is similar to other early documents of state.<sup>20</sup>

#### THE RIDER TO THE GREAT RHETRA (Plutarch *Lycurgus* VI)

αἱ δὲ σκολιὰν ὁ δῆμος ἔροιτο τοὺς πρεσβυγενέας καὶ ἀρχαγέτας ἀποστατήρας ἦμεν. 'But if the people declare wrongly the Elders and Kings shall be adjourners.'<sup>21</sup>

The decision whether the declaration of the people is right or wrong evidently lies with the Elders and Kings. In exercising this decision the Elders and Kings do in fact limit the sovereignty granted to the people by the Rhetra, and in enforcing adjournment they use their power to adjourn in a manner which was not intended by the phrase εἰσφέρειν τε καὶ ἀφίστασθαι in

<sup>17</sup> In Homeric diction *agora* is used of the assembly in opposition to the *boule*, cf. L. & S.

<sup>18</sup> This is apparent in the early use of the word by Homer and by Solon.

<sup>19</sup> Hesych. s.v. ἀπελλα; *IG* V 1, 1144; cf. L. & S. The suggestion, that ἀπελλάζειν refers to the whole people and ἀγορά to the commons only, seems to dispose of Treu's objection (*Hermes* LXXVI 23) that mention of the former excludes mention of the latter. The derivation of ἀπελλάζειν is disputed, cf. W-G, *CQ* XXXVII, 66 f.; Plut. *Lyc.* VI sees in the word a reference to Pythian Apollo.

<sup>20</sup> For instance the alliance of the Eleans and Heraeans (Tod *GHI* I 5). In the original the participles of Plutarch's text may have been infinitives, but speculation on this matter is hazardous.

<sup>21</sup> Here I keep the MSS. reading ἔροιτο (for arguments against the emendation to ἔροτο cf. Ehrenberg *NdS* 20 and 125 and von Blumenthal *loc. cit.* 213). The derivation of ἔροιτο may be from ἔρωμι or ἔρω (future ἔρῳ); as the latter gives the meaning 'say, declare' which best fits the context, it should be preferred. The imperfect middle is used in this sense in Homer *Il.* I 513 and *Od.* XI 542. The use of σκολιὰν in an adverbial sense is paralleled by its opposite ὀρθήν in the phrases ὀρθήν ἄνω βίωσι (Aristoph. *Thesm.* 1223) and ὀρθήν κλέμεις, ἢ τὸ βιβεῖον φαίμεναι (Aristoph. *de.* I); the word to be supplied with ὀρθήν or σκολιὰν is originally ὁδόν

(the contrast of σκολιὰν ὁδοὶ and ὀρθαὶ ὁδοὶ being common in a metaphorical application in Pindar e.g. *Pyth.* II 156), but it falls out in compendious phrases. W-G, *CQ* XXXVII 63 supplies ῥήτραν 'for σκολιὰν to agree with'; he cites no parallel for ῥήτραν ἔροιτο and it is more probable that ἔρος is the cognate form to ἔρωτο, as in the Homeric phrase ἔπος ἔπειν *Il.* III 83 etc. He is supported by von Blumenthal *loc. cit.* 213. W-G, *CQ* XXXVII 69 maintains that ἀποστατήρας ἡμῶν has the same sense as ἀποστήσουσιν in Thuc. IV 118, 9 (cf. above p. 44 n. 11), and although he does not translate the two words he presumably takes them to mean 'are decliners in the entertaining of the proposal'. This, however, misconceives the meaning of ἀποστατήρ; for this form is always active in meaning, i.e. 'one who makes to go away', as can be seen in the case of ἀναστατήρ Aesch. *Cho.* 303 and *Thes.* 1015 and of στατήρ cf. Liddell and Scott s.v. In this connexion the use of ἀποστήρ at Cnidus should be mentioned (*GDI* 3595.19 and Plutarch *GQ* 4). The title is that of the presiding officer at a committee, and Plutarch's comment ὁ δὲ τὰς γῶμας ἑρῶτων ἀποστήρ describes one of his duties. The derivation is most probably from ἀφίστασθαι, and the literal meaning is 'one sitting apart'. This is supported by the title of Boeotian magistrates of ἀφιδριστεύοντες. The word then does not throw any light on the meaning of ἀποστατήρ. Cf. Halliday, *Plutarch's Greek Questions*, 49.



the Rhetra. The text alone forces one to agree with the view expressed by Plutarch that the sentence is a later addition to the Rhetra; for it is intelligible only in relation to the Rhetra.

The procedure in the assembly needs some clarification if we are to understand the point of the rider. The right of introducing a proposal, that is of proposing a motion for decision, is the monopoly of the Gerousia in the Rhetra and in the fragment of Tyrtaeus quoted to illustrate the rider. The right of discussion by the commons is explicit in the rider and in Tyrtaeus; as it figures in the rider, it also existed under the terms of the Rhetra, whether it was stated or not in the corrupt passage. The sovereign right of the commons to pass judgment on the proposal is stated in the Rhetra according to Plutarch and is reiterated in Tyrtaeus. Thus the commons possess the rights of discussion and of decision but not the right of proposal under the Rhetra and the rider. The innovation contained in the rider is that the right of discussion is now curtailed in certain circumstances; for 'the Elders-and-Kings' (τοὺς πρεσβυγενέας καὶ ἀρχαγέτας, as a unit under τοὺς), that is the unanimous Gerousia, is accorded the discretion of determining that the people's discussion is incorrect and of dismissing the assembly. Moreover the presumption underlying the rider is that in such a case the proposal of the unanimous Gerousia becomes law; otherwise the deadlock is not resolved.

Such an innovation is generally credible because it accords with the development towards oligarchy which is a feature of the later constitution at Sparta. Whether this particular curtailment of discussion was enforced in classical times is not certain from the evidence at our disposal, which dates from later centuries and after the emergence of the Ephorate as an effective part of the constitution. The probability<sup>22</sup> is that it was so enforced. The general evidence on this point applies to the fourth-century constitutions of Crete and Sparta. In *Pol.* 1272a Aristotle, summarising points of resemblance between them, remarks ἐκκλησίας δὲ μετέχουσι πάντες, κυρία δ' οὐδένοσ ἐστὶν ἄλλ' ἢ συνεπιψηφίσαι τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς γέρουσι καὶ τοῖς κόσμοις. As Aristotle says that the Kings at Sparta held the position of the κόσμοι in Crete, it follows that where the Gerontes and the Kings at Sparta introduce a proposal as the unanimous recommendation of the Gerousia, the people's right is simply to confirm the proposal by vote. This is supported by a further passage (1273a), where Aristotle is discussing the deviations from aristocracy towards democracy which were common to the constitutions of Carthage, Crete, and Sparta: τοῦ μὲν γὰρ τὸ μὲν προσάγειν τὸ δὲ μὴ προσάγειν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον οἱ βασιλεῖς κύριοι μετὰ τῶν γερόντων ἂν ὁμογνωμονῶσι πάντες, εἰ δὲ μὴ, καὶ τούτων ὁ δῆμος ἃ δ' ἂν εἰσφέρωσιν οὗτοι, οὐ διακοῦσαι μόνον ἀποδιδόασιν τῷ δήμῳ τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς ἀρχουσιν, ἀλλὰ κύριοι κρίνειν εἰσὶ καὶ τῷ βουλευμένῳ τοῖς εἰσφερομένοις ἀντιπεῖν ἔξεστιν, ὅπερ ἐν ταῖς ἑτέραις πολιτείαις οὐκ ἐστὶν. The deviation towards democracy which is common to all three constitutions is contained in the words εἰ δὲ μὴ, καὶ τούτων ὁ δῆμος (sc. κύριος). For the first clause (τοῦ μὲν κτλ.) is concessive and describes an aristocratic feature, and the second clause (εἰ δὲ μὴ κτλ.) is antithetic and describes the democratic feature. The next sentence contains a deviation towards democracy which is peculiar to Carthage; for at Carthage, when members of the Gerousia introduce a proposal as their unanimous recommendation (τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς ἀρχουσιν), the people not only listen to the proposal but have the right to decide and can even make a speech (or a proposal, if ἀντιπεῖν has a technical meaning as the aorist tense suggests) against the original proposal.<sup>23</sup> The inference is that in Crete and Sparta, whenever the Gerousia was unanimous, the people only listened to the proposal of the Gerousia; their right was in fact merely συνεπιψηφίσαι τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς γέρουσι καὶ τοῖς κόσμοις and not to discuss. It is then clear that at Sparta procedure was different when the Gerousia was unanimous and when it was not. In the former case the people heard the proposal without discussion and confirmed it automatically, their participation being a formality. In the latter case the people *also* had sovereign power of decision (εἰ δὲ μὴ, καὶ τούτων ὁ δῆμος). That this was a real power is clear from Aristotle's emphasis on it as a deviation towards democracy. The division of opinion among the members

<sup>22</sup> This passage is discussed by W-G, *CQ* XXXVII 71.

<sup>23</sup> I take the last clause ὅπερ ἐν ταῖς ἑτέραις πολιτείαις οὐκ

ἐστὶν to refer to the whole sentence from ἃ δ' ἂν εἰσφέρωσιν down to ἀντιπεῖν ἔξεστιν.



of the Gerousia would lead to two or more proposals being put before the assembly, and these proposals would be discussed and decided by the people. Here the activity of the people is no formality but a real factor in the constitution. This appears to be the case in the account in Diodorus XI 50 of the debate where Hetoimaridas differed from his colleagues in the Gerousia and in the assembly. In Thucydides' account (I 79 f.) of the debate in the assembly which followed the hearing of complaints against Athens and the reply of the Athenians, it is possible that the Gerousia met before the assembly or that the difference of opinion between King Archidamus and his colleagues made an *ad hoc* meeting of the Gerousia unnecessary. The accounts in Plut. *Agis* 8 f. and *Cleomenes* 10 f. contain too many difficulties to be discussed here and are perhaps of too late a date for our argument.

## THE EVIDENCE OF TYRTAEUS

IIIb (ascribed to Tyrtaeus by Plutarch *Lycurgus* VI)

Φοίβου ἀκούσαντες Πυθωνόθεν οἴκαδ' ἔνεικον <sup>24</sup>  
 μαντείας τε θεοῦ καὶ τελέεντ' ἔπειτα  
 ἀρχεῖν μὲν βουλῆς θεοτιμήτους βασιλῆας,  
 οἷσι μέλει Σπάρτης ἡμερόεσσα πόλις,  
 πρεσβύτας τε γέροντας, ἔπειτα δὲ δημότας ἄνδρας  
 εὐθείαις ῥήτραις ἀνταπαμειβομένους.

It is clear that Plutarch has not completed the quotation. The sentence beginning ἔπειτα δὲ δημότας must have an infinitive; <sup>25</sup> for it is not possible that the infinitive ἀρχεῖν, which is stressed by its position under μὲν, should be supplied with ἔπειτα δὲ δημότας ἄνδρας, nor if it could be so supplied would it yield satisfactory sense. The function of the Kings and Elders comes first and is contrasted with that of the Demos which comes later: 'Counsel shall be begun by the kings honoured of heaven, whose charge is the lovely city of Sparta, and by the aged elders, and thereafter the men of the commons. . . .' The meaning of the last line, as it stands, is obscure. The word ἀνταπαμειβομαι occurs only here. While ἀπαμειβομαι is used by Homer perhaps with an accusative (*Od.* xix 405) and by Theocritus with an accusative and dative (VIII 8), the compound ἀνταμειβομαι in Archilochus 66 governs an accusative and has an associative dative. The simple form of the verb in Homer is either absolute or governs an accusative and has an associative dative (e.g. *Od.* xi 57 ὁ δὲ μ' οἰμώσας ἡμείβετο μύθῳ 'he groaned and answered me with the words'). This construction, which arises from the root meaning of the verb, is the only one in early Greek; it is first modified by Herodotus who uses the double accusative (e.g. II 173 ταῦτα τοὺς φίλους ἡμείψατο). In the time of Tyrtaeus it is probable that the pre-Herodotean construction was in use: the meaning then is 'answering (? the kings and elders) with straight rhetrai'. <sup>26</sup> The word rhetra has several meanings; the one which best fits this hanging participial phrase is 'law' 'enactment'. That is, the sense may be that the people answer with the finished product, the straight laws.

The problem of the missing infinitive is solved by the version in Diodorus vii 12 = Tyrtaeus IIIa:

(ὦ)δε γὰρ ἀργυρότοξος ἀναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων  
 χρυσοκόμης ἔχρη πῖονος ἔξ ἀδύτου  
 ἀρχεῖν μὲν βουλῇ(ς) θεοτιμήτους βασιλῆας,  
 οἷσι μέλει Σπάρτης ἡμερόεσσα <sup>27</sup> πόλις,

<sup>24</sup> MS. οἰμώσων.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. W-M, *Textgesch.* 108 'das letzte Satzglied fordert eigentlich einen Infinitiv, wenigstens ist es hart, aus ἀρχεῖν βουλῆς durch Zeugma ein βουλευσάσθαι für das zweite Subject zu gewinnen'. Cf. the discussion below of Tyrtaeus' use of ἔλ.

<sup>26</sup> W-G, CQXXXVIII 1 and 6 maintains that the line can also mean 'replying to the straight proposals' (so also Treu

*Hermes* LXXVI 36) or 'replying to the proposals without distorting them'. No examples of such a construction are given in Liddell and Scott, and the root meaning of ἀμειβομαι makes it highly unlikely that it could take such a construction.

<sup>27</sup> MS. ἰχνηρόεσσα.



πρεσβυγενεῖς τε<sup>28</sup> γέροντας, ἔπειτα δὲ δημότας ἀνδρας  
 εὐθείαν<sup>29</sup> ῥήτρας ἀνταπαμειβομένους  
 μυθεῖσθαι τε<sup>30</sup> τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἔρδιν πάντα δίκαια  
 μηδ' ἐτι βουλευεῖν<sup>31</sup> τῇδε πόλει <σκολιόν>·  
 δήμου δὲ<sup>32</sup> πλήθει νίκην καὶ κάρτος ἔπεσθαι.  
 Φοῖβος γὰρ περὶ τῶν ᾧδ' ἀνέφηνε πόλει.

The text needs little correction: the changes from δέ to τε and vice versa are not essential, the two wrong letters are not unusual, and the diplography in ετιεπι is no rarity. The lines are not written as verse; thus the omission of the word in line 8 and the reduplication in line 6 are less striking than they appear when the lines are set out as verse.<sup>33</sup>

The infinitives in 7–8 determine the meaning of the whole sentence: 'and thereafter the men of the commons answering the rhetrai straightly shall say what is fair and do all that is right and no longer give <crooked> counsel for this city. And victory and supremacy shall follow the main body of the commons.'<sup>34</sup> From the whole poem it is clear that three stages are described: the kings and elders introduce proposals for debate, the commons discuss in the just and proper manner, and the majority decision of the commons is binding. The construction in the line εὐθείαν ῥήτρας ἀνταπαμειβομένους is the usual one in Greek of all periods, and the rhetrai to which the commons respond are the proposals of the kings and elders. It is in responding to the proposals that the commons are to be correct in debate and no longer <crooked> in counsel. This meaning of rhetra, i.e. 'a proposal laid before the people' (similar to the προβούλευμα at Athens), is well attested.<sup>35</sup> The emphasis in the sentence dealing with the δημότας ἀνδρας falls on εὐθείαν by virtue of its position; the adverbial use of the accusative feminine has been discussed above in the commentary on σκολιάν in the rider to the Rhetra. The analogy of σκολιάν and ὀρθήν supports my interpretation; and examples of εὐθείαν (with which ὁδόν is to be supplied) occur in Aeschylus fr. 195 and Euripides *Medea* 384. The contrast, too, between σκολιάν in the Rhetra and εὐθείαν in Tyrtaeus is paralleled by the remark of the crab to the snake: εὐθὺν χρὴ τὸν ἑταῖρον ἔμμεν καὶ μὴ σκολιά φρονεῖν (*Scolion* 9).

If we leave aside the two introductory lines in Tyrtaeus IIIa and IIIb, there is no doubt that the better text is given by Diodorus (Tyrtaeus IIIa). Plutarch's quotation stops short of the main verb; when the main verb is supplied by Diodorus' version, it is clear that Plutarch's reading εὐθείαις ῥήτραις ἀνταπαμειβομένους cannot be correct. For the debate in the assembly cannot be contemporary (as it must be in view of the present participle and the present infinitives) with responses in the form of straight 'enactments', that is laws finally passed. If the text of Diodorus is preferred and that of Plutarch is emended, then we see why Plutarch did not trouble to continue the quotation. For the line εὐθείαν ῥήτρας ἀνταπαμειβομένους demonstrated his

<sup>28</sup> MS. δε.

<sup>29</sup> MS. ευθειαν (Maius) ευθεης (Herwerden), cf. *Spicil. Vat.* 3, 15.

<sup>30</sup> MS. δε.

<sup>31</sup> MS. μηδετι επιβουλευειν.

<sup>32</sup> MS. τε.

<sup>33</sup> The text is given in W-G, *CQ* XXXVIII 3; his conclusion 'we need not shrink from correction' implies a higher degree of corruption in the text than is apparent. In line 8 I read μηδ' ἐτι for Diehl's μηδε τι because Tyrtaeus does not use the neuter τι and Homer uses βουλευῶν with a simple accusative. The form επιβουλευῶν first appears in fifth-century Attic, and L. & S. are mistaken in adopting it here. As W-M remarks, πρεσβυγενεῖς is better than Plutarch's πρεσβύτας. Indeed the remark of Plutarch (789E) εἰς τὴν μὲν ἐν Λασιδαίμονι παραχρηθεῖσαν ἀριστοκρατίαν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι δὲ Πύθιος πρεσβυγενεῖς δὲ ἐξ Ἀλοῦργος ἀντιπρὸς γέροντας ἀνόμενοι suggests that, while γέροντας is adduced from the χειροῦσαν of the Rhetra, πρεσβυγενεῖς may have stood in Plutarch's text of the oracle in Tyrtaeus, which Plutarch quotes, and not πρεσβύτας.

<sup>34</sup> For the genuineness of line 9 Treu (*Hermes* LXXVI 36 f.) refers to the use of δῆμος and πλήθους in Tyrtaeus 9, 15 and 8, 3, ἐπεσθαι in 6, 10, and νίκης καὶ κράτους in Hesiod *Theog.* 647; κράτος is also used in a political sense in Plutarch's version of

Solon fr. 3 and in Alcæus 31. Treu however considers the preceding couplet to be spurious. Yet the diction is equally Homeric, and Tyrtaeus uses ἔρδιν in 8, 27; the poverty of the lines in poetic thought is paralleled in Tyrtaeus (e.g. 9, 37 f.) and the contrast of positive and negative is most common (e.g. 7, 1–4). On my interpretation the vagueness of the lines is intentional, for it conceals a limitation of the people's power under a general phrase.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. W-G, *CQ* XXXVIII 6 f. discussing the use of the word in Plutarch *Agis* 5 and 8–11, e.g. (Epitadeus) ῥήτραν ἔγραψεν, ἰστένοι τὸν οἶκον . . . καταλιπεῖν . . . εἰσήμεγε τὸν νόμον οἱ δ' ἄλλοι . . . κυρώσαντες. The same use occurs in the spurious decree of Byzantium in Dem. XVIII 90. The two meanings—a proposal and an enactment—derive from the original meaning of ῥήτρα, a verbal agreement or bargain (between two parties) as in Homer *Od.* xiv 393; the word can be used to describe a treaty between two states (e.g. Tod *GHI* I 5), an enactment enshrining an agreement between two parties (e.g. *IG* xiv 645 95 f. and 145–6), and a proposal for agreement between constituent parts of the state, as here and in Plutarch *Agis*. The original meaning, a mutual agreement between parties, is emphasised in Tyrtaeus by the compound ἀνταπαμειβόμενους, elsewhere unknown, and by the sense of exchange in the verb ἀμειβόμεν.



argument that Tyrtaeus was referring to the rider αἱ δὲ σκολιὰν ὁ δᾶμος ἔροίτο τοὺς πρεσβυγενεάς καὶ ἀρχαγέτας ἀποστατήρας ἦμεν, whereby crooked debate in the Apella was to be foreclosed by the adjournment of the assembly.

The opening couplets of Tyrtaeus IIIa and IIIb are different from one another. As they stand, neither couplet is likely to have formed the opening of a poem, and it therefore seems probable that the lines are quoted from the body of a poem or poems. Even if they are quoted from one and the same poem it is not necessary to suppose that one couplet is genuine and the other is a forgery; for both couplets might have occurred in the preceding part of the poem. If so, the reason for quoting one couplet rather than another is to be found in the context of the author who makes the quotation. Plutarch, referring to the activities of the kings Theopompus and Polydorus, quotes the couplet with the plural subject, which he takes to be those two kings; Diodorus, who is citing oracles of Delphi, chooses a couplet more appropriate to his aim. An alternative explanation, which is less probable but should not be excluded, is that the quotations IIIa and IIIb are from two different poems of Tyrtaeus.

The relation between Tyrtaeus III a-b and the Rhetra with its rider is fairly clear. The oracle in Tyrtaeus enjoins the initiative of the kings and gerontes in counsel, limits debate in the assembly to straight responses to their proposals, and affirms the sovereignty of the people. The first and the third points are in the Rhetra; the second point is contained only in the rider to the Rhetra αἱ δὲ σκολιὰν ὁ δᾶμος ἔροίτο τοὺς πρεσβυγενεάς καὶ ἀρχαγέτας ἀποστατήρας ἦμεν. As we have seen, the rider only makes sense if it was attached to the Rhetra; for it qualifies the last clause in the Rhetra δαμοτᾶν ἀγορᾶν ἦμεν καὶ κράτος by giving a discretion to the kings and gerontes which impairs the people's sovereignty. But the oracular response as quoted in Tyrtaeus is so couched that this limitation is camouflaged by its insertion between two points drawn from the Rhetra itself. The occasion of this tactful response by Delphi is supplied by Plutarch. For the kings Polydorus and Theopompus, having subjoined<sup>36</sup> the rider to the Rhetra, 'persuaded the state (to adopt the rider) on the ground that the god prescribed it,<sup>37</sup> as is mentioned somewhere by Tyrtaeus in the following lines'. As Plutarch, or at least Plutarch's source, may be presumed to have had the full poem of Tyrtaeus before him, there is no reason to suppose that Polydorus and Theopompus were *not* the subject of the line<sup>38</sup> Φοίβου ἀκούσαντες Πυθωνόθεν οἰκάδ' ἔνεικον and that their names had *not* occurred earlier in the same poem. Thus Plutarch's explanation of the relation between Tyrtaeus IIIb and the rider is satisfactory and reasonable in its own right; and it carries with it the deduction that the Rhetra itself is earlier than the addition of the rider by Polydorus and Theopompus, the hero of the First Messenian War.

Plutarch's explanation is, however, not compatible with the comment attached to Tyrtaeus IIIa in Diodorus' text ἡ Πυθία ἔχρησε τῷ Λυκούργῳ περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν οὕτως. For this comment attributes the oracle to the time of Lycurgus, that is to the time in which Plutarch puts the Rhetra itself. The choice between the comment in Diodorus' text and the comment by Plutarch is not difficult. In the first place the verses of Tyrtaeus IIIa do not illustrate the sense of the Rhetra alone; in the second, the comment is in fact a marginal note, which lacks the authority even of Diodorus. In the text of Diodorus a lacuna precedes the quotation of Tyrtaeus' poem; before the lacuna a reference is made to Lycurgus. It is probable that the marginal note was added to bridge the lacuna; that it is mistaken is shown by the considered commentary of Plutarch. The marginal note may then be dismissed as incorrect.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> The word παρεγγράφη may mean either 'subjoin' or in a bad sense 'interpolate'; the context does not suggest that the latter meaning is to be preferred here (as it appears to be by W-G, CQ XXXVIII 2).

<sup>37</sup> W-G, CQ XXXVIII 1 translates ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα προστάσσοντος 'on the grounds that it was part of the god's command'. Plutarch does not mention any 'part': προστάσσον means to enjoin whereas προσπιπύσσον is necessary for the meaning 'enjoin in addition'.

<sup>38</sup> This is implicit in the hypothesis of Andrewes CQ XXXII 89 and W-G *loc. cit.* 2, that the Heracleidae are the subject of ἔνεικον.

<sup>39</sup> W-G, CQ XXXVIII 3 note 1 remarks that 'the *marginals* has been unfairly spat upon'. The alternative is to spit upon Plutarch; for one or other must be so treated. Of the two the known Plutarch is a less deserving target than the unknown hand of the *marginals*.



## PASSAGES RELEVANT TO THE DATING OF THE RHETRA

(a) Tyrtaeus I 6-24<sup>40</sup> (ed. Diehl<sup>2</sup>)

ηρας τε λίθων κα  
 ν ἔθνεσιν εἰδόμ[ενοι]  
 βρ]οτολοιγὸς Ἄρης αἱ  
 θειηι τοὺς δ' ὑπερα  
 10 ν εἰκότες ἦ  
 ν κοίληισ' ἀσπίσι φραξάμ[ενοι]  
 χωρὶς Πάμφυλοί τε καὶ Ὑλλεῖς ἡδ[ὲ Δυμᾶνες]  
 ἀνδροφόνους μελίας χερσὶν ἀν[ασχόμενοι]  
 [ἡμεῖς] δ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσ' ἐπὶ πάντ[α τρέποντες]  
 15 [δκνου] ἄτερ μόνιηι πείσομεθ' ἡγεμ[όνων]  
 ἀλλ' εὐθύς σύμπαντες ἀλοιησεῦ[μεν] - - -  
 [ἀ]νδράσιν αἰχμηταῖσ' ἐγγύθεν ἰσ[τάμενοι]  
 δεινὸς δ' ἀμφοτέρων ἔσται κτύπος - - -  
 ἀσπίδας εὐκύκλους ἀσπίσι τυπτ - - -  
 20 - - - ἥσουσιν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι π[εσόντες]  
 ς δ' ἀνδρῶν στήθεσιν ἀμ  
 ν ἐρωήσουσιν ἐρεϊκόμενο[ι] - - -  
 ϕ χερμαδίων βαλλόμεναι μ  
 κ[όρυθ]ες καναχὴν ἐξου[σι]

In his footnotes Diehl publishes three complete restorations of these lines; the margin of variation is such as to show that complete restoration is inconclusive. Even the restorations in the text above are not agreed; those in lines 12-13 win most general acceptance. It is also uncertain whether the lines all belong to the same poem, for the lines forming Tyrtaeus VI and VII are written consecutively in Lycurgus *Leuer.* 107, despite the fact that they constitute two separate poems.

If, however, we assume that the lines are part of one poem and that the fragmentary lines of the other columns of the papyrus belong to the same poem, the context and the meaning of the lines remain obscure. The author of the fragment is not known. The suggestion that the author is Tyrtaeus is highly probable; and the mention of Messenians in line 66 establishes a presumption that the poem is concerned either with the First Messenian War (as Tyrtaeus IV is) or with the Second Messenian War, at which time Tyrtaeus was writing.

When we turn to the lines which have survived, we can make some safe deductions. The use of δέ in lines 9, 14, 18, and 21 gives a clue to the arrangement of the sentences. Elsewhere in the fragments of Tyrtaeus δέ is followed by a main verb, except on two occasions (IV 3 and VIII 5) where balancing infinitives and participles are contrasted under μέν and δέ. In our fragment the δέ in line 18 and in line 21 introduces a main verb. The odds are therefore high in favour of this being so in line 9 and in line 14. Moreover, in the case of line 14 the alternative possibility, that δέ goes with the participle [τρέποντες] and corresponds to a lost μέν preceding the two participles φραξάμ[ενοι] and ἀν[ασχόμενοι], presents considerable difficulties. For it is hard to suggest a suitable word before δέ which will be capable of carrying an emphatic contrast within the participial phrases, and it is still more difficult to explain the sense of the two aorist participles if they depend on the future verb πείσομεθα. We may then conclude that a main verb has fallen out of lines 9, 10, or 11, and that this main verb is correlative, and perhaps contrasted, with πείσομεθα.

The clue to the meaning of the sentence in lines 10-13 is afforded by the words ἀνδροφόνους μελίας χερσὶν ἀν[ασχόμενοι]. Here the restoration ἀν[ασχόμενοι] is generally accepted, for it

<sup>40</sup> The text of column A2 of the papyrus was first published by W-M *SBB* 1918 728 f. In the text as printed

above only some of Diehl's restorations are reproduced.



is almost demanded by the preceding words. The meaning of ἀνασχεῖσθαι is not in doubt: it describes the attitude of raising the spear, preliminary to thrust or throw, and the aorist tense of the participle is usually employed with a main verb of striking or of standing ready to strike.<sup>41</sup> The aorist participle φραξάμ[ενοι] is used of assuming position behind one's shield as a preliminary to combat.<sup>42</sup> It is then practically certain that the sentence in lines 10-13 describes a force of men either poised in the attitude of combat or engaged in the act of combat. A good parallel is afforded by Callinus I 9 f.,

ἀλλὰ τις ἰθὺς ἴτω  
ἔγχος ἀνασχόμενος καὶ ὑπ' ἀσπίδος ἄλκιμον ἦτορ  
ἔλσας, τὸ πρῶτον μειγνυμένου πολέμου.

Here the warrior steps ready into combat, at the moment when battle is first being joined (the aorist participles being in contrast to the present participle).

In the two sentences which follow (lines 14-16) the emphasis lies with the opening words. Not the least recommendation of the restorations [ἡμεῖς] and [δύνου] is that they can carry such emphasis. With ἀλλ' εὐθὺς σύμπαντες the emphasis is fully driven home; and these words obviously contrast with the only word which carries such emphasis in the preceding lines, namely the initial spondee χωρὶς. The sense may then be that the Pamphyloi Hylleis and Dymanes fought<sup>43</sup> separately; 'but we [perhaps the Spartans of Tyrtæus' day] shall obey our steadfast leaders without flinching, but<sup>44</sup> we shall one and all combine forthwith to beat down [the foe? . . .] as we stand at close quarters to the spearmen'. In that case a contrast is drawn between the tactics which the Dorian tribes employed in the past and those which the Spartans are to employ in a future battle. If we assume that the poem is by Tyrtæus and that he uses the future tense to signify a battle in the Second Messenian War, then such a contrast between past and future is not inept. The poems which are known to be by Tyrtæus make frequent reference to the past: II to the Heracleidae's invasion of the Peloponnese, III to a reform in the reign of Theopompus and Polydorus (if we accept Plutarch's statement), IV to fighting in the First Messenian War, and IX to mythical events. In this poem, then, reference may well be made to the invasion of the Peloponnese by the three Dorian tribes who are mentioned elsewhere in this connexion.<sup>45</sup> The contrast in tactics is also a natural one in Tyrtæus. The change from Homeric tactics to hoplite tactics took place at Sparta not later than c. 700 B.C.<sup>46</sup>

There is little doubt that the tactics described in lines 16-24 are those of hoplite warfare.<sup>47</sup> There may also be a contrast between the epithet εὐκύκλος in line 19 and the epithet κοίλη in line 11. The former is used in Homer *Il.* V 797 to describe the 'telamonian' shield of pre-hoplite warfare,<sup>48</sup> but it is also appropriate for the hoplite shield. The latter is a most unusual epithet for a shield; if we think of Homer's κοίλαι νῆες, then it is best fitted to describe the 'basin-like' shields shown on the Tiryns votives which are of the pre-hoplite type. On the other hand, it can be argued that it may describe the hoplite shield with its offset rim.<sup>49</sup> Thus no firm conclusion can be drawn from these two epithets;<sup>50</sup> in their context, however, κοίλη

<sup>41</sup> Homer *Iliad* III 362 πληξεν ἀνασχόμενος; V 653 ὃ δ' ἀνίστατο μέλειον ἔγχος | Τληπόλεμος καὶ τῶν μιν ἀναρτῇ δούρατα μακρὰ | ἐν χερσὶν ἦξεν; XI 592 οἱ δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν | πηληίοι ἱστῆσαν, σάκῃ δ' αὖραισι κλιναντες, δούρατ' ἀνασχόμενοι. Cf. H. L. Lorimer *BSA* XLII 114.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Homer *Iliad* XI 592 quoted in the last footnote and Callinus I 10 quoted in the text above.

<sup>43</sup> An aorist or imperfect verb in the third person plural can be as easily restored in line 11 [—ω—]ν as a form of the first person plural.

<sup>44</sup> I take ἀλλὰ to repeat the antithesis begun by ἢ in the preceding couplet and also to stress [δύνου] ἄτερ. The same use of ἀλλὰ appears in Tyrtæus VII, 1; VII, 31; VIII, 1; VIII, 21; and in Callinus I 9.

<sup>45</sup> For instance, in Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* V 92 οἱ Ἀλγυῖοι παῖδες Δύρος καὶ Πάμφυλος συγκατεβάντο τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις.

<sup>46</sup> Lorimer, *loc. cit.* 92-3 'that from c. 700 B.C. onwards hoplite equipment was general at Sparta is clear, and, in

view of the interpretation sometimes put on certain passages in Tyrtæus or the poetry which goes under his name, the fact is of importance'.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* p. 128.

<sup>48</sup> ὑπὸ πηλῆϊος τελαμώνιος ἀσπίδος εὐκύκλου.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* 122 n. 2, the word basin-like is used by Miss Lorimer. Her interpretation is different from mine, because she thinks both epithets refer to hoplite warfare. I agree that both might do so; but in this case if a distinction is drawn, my interpretation seems to fit her description better and also to fit the fragment of Mimnermus quoted below.

<sup>50</sup> In general Tyrtæus' evidence on weapons, armour and tactics is, as Miss Lorimer says, perplexing. One reason may be that the Messenian Wars were not struggles between hoplite forces but partook more of guerilla tactics; and, as it takes two hoplite sides to make a hoplite battle, the Spartans may have been compelled by their enemy to modify their equipment and their tactics.



may well be used of the pre-hoplite shield and the epithet εὐκυκλος of the hoplite shield. The other example of κοίλη ἀσπίς occurs in the new fragment of Mimnermus: <sup>51</sup>

Μίμνερμ[ος] δ' [ἐν] τῇ Σμυρν[η][ι] ἴδι·  
ὥς οἱ παρ βασιλῆος, ἔπε[ι ῥ'] ἐ[ν] ἐδέξατο μῦθο[ν],  
ἦ[ι]ξα[ν] κοίλη[ι]σ' ἀσπίσι φραζάμενοι.

Of this fragment the elegiac line is the same (save the missing letters) as line 11 of our poem. It might even be held to indicate that this part of our poem may be by Mimnermus and not by Tyrtaeus. It certainly shows that the missing word in our poem may be ἦϊξαν, or at any rate a past tense in the third person plural. Moreover, the fragment of the *Smyrnaid* depicts the warfare between Smyrna and Gyges of Lydia c. 660 B.C.<sup>52</sup> and the actions are those of the king's men; they are then definitely not hoplite tactics and the same unusual line in Tyrtaeus' poem (if it be his) should also describe non-hoplite tactics. This conclusion is equally supported by Callinus 19 f. (quoted above); the action of his warrior is closely similar to that of the Hylleis Pamphyloi and Dymanes in lines 11-13 of our poem. And Callinus was exhorting men to action against the Cimmerians not later than 660 B.C., and such action cannot have been of the hoplite type.<sup>53</sup>

As the interpretation set upon this fragmentary poem is so vital to this paper, it is necessary to consider briefly a few statements which have been made on the matter. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff,<sup>54</sup> ascribing the poem to Tyrtaeus, assumed that the mention of the three Dorian tribes proves their actual existence in the time of Tyrtaeus; accordingly he put the Lyncurgen reform at Sparta later, i.e. towards the end of the seventh century B.C. Gercke,<sup>55</sup> making the same assumption, noted the contrast between χωρίς in line 11 and σύμπαντες in line 16 and remarked that for the first time in world history the axiom appears 'getrennt marschieren und vereint schlagen'. For he took lines 10-12 to describe the march 'im Schutze der Schilde und die Lanzen geschultert'. But the phrase μέλας χερσὶν ἀν[ασχόμενοι] means not spears at the slope but spears poised for combat, and as the fragment of Mimnermus has shown (since Gercke wrote) the phrase κοίλησ' ἀσπίσι φραζάμ[ενοι] describes a position in combat.<sup>56</sup> Wade-Gery writes as follows: <sup>57</sup>

'It is comparatively recently, with Wilamowitz's publication of the Tyrtaios papyrus in 1918, that we learnt for certain that Sparta had once a Tribal Army. In that papyrus, a prospective battle is described, in which the Spartans are to go into action χωρίς Πάμφυλοι τε καὶ Ὑλλεῖς ἡδ[ὲ] Δουμῆνες]. In the Messenian Revolt, then, the units of the Spartan army were those three "Dorian tribes", the same as we find in many Dorian cities, racial or "kinship" groups which purported to be descended from Herakles' three sons, Hyllos, Pamphylos, and Dyman. The evidence is conclusive, but there is little other trace of it in our tradition: Aristotle in his *Constitution* appears to know only the two later stages, the Obal Army and the Morai.'

The main assumption here is that lines 10-13 belong to the prospective battle. As we have seen, such an assumption is far from necessary when we study the text. Indeed, the balance of probability inclines towards these lines being not dependent on παίσόμεθα and being rather in contrast to lines 14 f., so that the 'Tribal Army' was a thing of the past and not of the future. I am, however, not concerned to show that any one view is necessarily right *per se*. It is sufficient to state that either view is possible and that the evidence is therefore far from 'conclusive'. Its double edge should rather deter us from dogmatism at the expense of all the other ancient evidence.

<sup>51</sup> Wyss, *Antimachi Colophonii Reliquiae* (1936) 83 and 88. The restoration ἦξαν seems necessary to explain οἱ παρ βασιλῆος which should depend on a verb of motion: cf. Xen. *Anab.* I 1, 5 τῶν παρ βασιλέως.

<sup>52</sup> Paus. IX 29, 4.

<sup>53</sup> Lorimer, *loc. cit.* 120 inclines to put the introduction of hoplite warfare in Ionia generally to a period not much earlier than 600 B.C.

<sup>54</sup> *SBB* 1918, 734.

<sup>55</sup> *Hermes* LVI (1921) 347-8.

<sup>56</sup> The position of the spear when a hoplite is marching

and when he is about to engage is well illustrated by the Chigi Vase, cf. Lorimer, *loc. cit.* 81. Bowra, *New Chapters in Greek Literature*, III 64 shares the view of Gercke and remarks 'the description of the marching here is reminiscent of some Homeric passages'; he refers to *Iliad* XV 710 and XXI 162 f., both of which concern close combat. He also maintains that the triple division by tribes re-appears in lines 68-71 of the fragment, but four groups are mentioned if one reads further and notes of 84 in line 74.

<sup>57</sup> *CQ* XXXVIII 119-20.



## HERODOTUS I 65-66

Herodotus describes the reform at Sparta in a parenthesis. After quoting the oracle delivered to Lycurgus at Delphi, Herodotus gives two alternative traditions about the *origin* of the reform: some say that the priestess at Delphi went on to expound to Lycurgus τὸν νῦν κατεσπεῶτα κόσμον Σπαρτιήτησι, while the Lacedaemonians themselves say that Lycurgus brought (sc. τὸν νῦν κατεσπεῶτα κόσμον Σπαρτιήτησι) from Crete. The *date* of the reform is given according to the Lacedaemonian tradition in the reign of Leobotes to whom Lycurgus was guardian. The *nature* of the reform was a change of all customary usages (μετέστησε τὰ νόμιμα πάντα); next the introduction of military measures, the enomotiai and triekades and sussitia; and in addition the establishment of the ephors and elders. In this description the divergence of tradition seems to affect only the origin of the reform; the date and the nature of the reform appear to be drawn from the Lacedaemonian tradition and not to be in dispute. The dating by the reign of a king at Sparta is common in Herodotus; he supplies the list of kings of both royal houses, and Leobotes appears in the Agiad list as eighth in descent from Heracles and as the twelfth king before Leonidas. Thus Herodotus and his informants knew the time of the reform in relation to the kings' list. Whether he conceived the time numerically as so many years before a fixed date is doubtful. Where he does equate lists of kings with numbers, he varies hugely: the Heracleidae reigned in Lydia for twenty-two generations, a space of 505 years (I 7), and the list of kings of Egypt is reckoned at three generations to a century (II 142). If one applies these two methods dating backwards from the death of Leonidas to the beginning of Leobotes' reign, the answers will be 781 and 913 B.C. But the vagueness of Herodotus' early chronology makes such calculations of little value.

The parenthesis in which the activity of Lycurgus is described springs from the account of Sparta's power which reached the ears of Croesus c. 547-6 B.C. He heard that the Spartans 'after passing through a period of great depression had lately been victorious in the war with the people of Tegea; for, during the reign of Leo and Agasicles, kings of Sparta, the Lacedaemonians, successful in all their other wars, suffered continual defeat at the hands of the Tegeans'. Herodotus then inserts his parenthesis; its purpose is to explain the cause of Sparta's military predominance in all her wars, including that against Tegea. The fact that his explanation takes him back to the reform of Lycurgus, which established the military and social system of that and succeeding generations, is neither alien to the mentality of Herodotus nor surprising to the modern historian. For Herodotus saw the original cause of the Greco-Persian war in much remoter events, and the modern historian who tries to account for Sparta's predominance in the fifth or fourth century B.C. finds himself compelled to refer to the military and social system which originated in the same reform, whether he ascribes the reform to this or that century and legislator. Undoubtedly the derivation of Sparta's power from such a reform is the correct one.

The introduction of the parenthesis is formed by the following sentences. πρὸ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον τούτων καὶ κακονομώτατοι ἦσαν σχεδὸν πάντων Ἑλλήνων κατὰ τε σφέας αὐτοὺς καὶ ξείνοισι ἀπρόσμεικτοι. μετέβαλον δὲ ὧδε ἐς εὐνομίην (I 65, 2). When the parenthesis is concluded, the following sentences mark the transition to the narrative. οὕτω μὲν μεταβαλόντες εὐνομήθησαν, τῷ δὲ Λυκούργῳ τελευτήσαντι ἱρὸν εἰσάμενοι σέβονται μεγάλως. οἷα δὲ ἔν τε χώρῃ ἀγαθῇ καὶ πληθεῖ οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον αὐτίκα καὶ εὐθενήθησαν. καὶ δὴ σφι οὐκέτι ἀπέχρα ἡσυχίην ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καταφρονήσαντες Ἀρκάδων κρέσσονες εἶναι κτλ. (I 66, 1). The opening phrase τὸ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον τούτων, that is still earlier than the reign of Leon and Agasicles in the first half of the sixth century B.C., is vague and reaches indefinitely into the past, but its meaning in chronological terms is made more clear by the parenthesis and by the closing sentences. The change to εὐνομία is brought about by Lycurgus' reforms in the reign of Leobotes; in consequence of these reforms, the Spartans shot up at once and prospered—that is at once after the reforms. Herodotus then returns to his point of departure, that is to the time of Croesus: this time had been immediately preceded by defeats in the war against Tegea (I 67, 1), and these defeats are evidently among the great disasters which had affected Sparta



(I 65, 1), but by c. 547-6 B.C. Sparta had already got the better of Tegea (I 65, 1 and 68, 6). The period of *κακονομία* at Sparta to which τὸ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον τούτων refers is then seen to be antecedent to the *εὐνομία* brought about by Lycurgus in the reign of Leobotes. If we confine our attention to a few sentences only of Herodotus (I 65 1-2), his chronology may be confusing; but, if I 65-8 is read as a whole, no real ambiguity remains. As Herodotus is only concerned to account for Sparta's supremacy at the time of Croesus, it is enough for his purpose to describe the war against Tegea and the stability of Sparta arising from Lycurgus' reforms. It is only in passing that he hints at the intervening period, touching on the expansion of Sparta (in which the conquest of Messenia in the First Messenian War suggests itself as the salient point), and on the disasters from which Sparta had escaped (notably the Revolt of Messenia in the Second Messenian War and the defeats at the hands of Tegea).<sup>58</sup>

#### THUCYDIDES I 18, 1

ἡ γὰρ Λακεδαιμῶν μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν τῶν νῦν ἐνοικούντων αὐτὴν Δωριῶν ἐπὶ πλείστον ὧν ἴσμεν χρόνον στασιάσασα ὁμῶς ἐκ παλαιτάτου καὶ ἡννομήθη καὶ αἰεὶ ἀτυράννευτος ἦν· ἔτη γὰρ ἔστι μάλιστα τετρακάσια καὶ ὀλίγῳ πλείω ἐξ τὴν τελευταίην τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἀφ' οὗ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ αὐτῇ πολιτείᾳ χρώνται, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ δυνάμενοι καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι καθίστασαν.

'After its foundation by the present Dorian inhabitants Lacedaemon underwent the longest known period of faction and yet from the earliest times both received a well-ordered government and was continuously free from tyranny; for the Lacedaemonians have used the same constitution now for a little more than four centuries, dating back from the end of this war, and on that account being powerful they settled affairs in the other states too'.<sup>59</sup>

Thucydides introduces these sentences as a parenthesis to explain the ability of Sparta to depose the last of the tyrants, including those at Athens. He, like Herodotus, does not hesitate to explain the power of Sparta in the latter part of the sixth century B.C. by reference to a reform some three centuries earlier in date. Again like Herodotus he mentions the troubled period before the reform (*cf.* Hdt. I 65, 2 *κακονομώτατοι ἦσαν σχεδὸν πάντων Ἑλλήνων κτλ.*). The fact that Herodotus and Thucydides treat with confidence of Spartan history before the late ninth century suggests that they are both drawing on a tradition which was accepted in their own day; for the alternative, that Thucydides drew directly on Herodotus, is less probable in view of Thucydides' tendency elsewhere to be critical of Herodotus. The source of the tradition, which they accepted, is most reasonably to be found at Sparta; and it is this tradition which Herodotus appears to favour and to follow in his account of the reform.

<sup>58</sup> In *CAH* iii p. 562 Wade-Gery writes that 'the same date (*i.e.* shortly before 600 B.C.) is implied in Herodotus' account of the *Eunomia*, where he relates the Arcadian Wars of the early sixth century as the immediate consequence of the reform. . . . Herodotus stultifies his narrative by implying that the Reform took place some centuries before those immediate consequences which gave him occasion to mention the matter at all'. W-G here makes Herodotus imply two different things, first that the reform is dated to shortly before 600 B.C., and second that it took place some centuries earlier. What Herodotus says is fortunately more precise: the reform according to the Spartan tradition was in the reign of Leobotes. This statement outweighs any implications which may be held to transfer the reform to a later date. It is true that Herodotus reverts abruptly from the digression to the narrative: the phrase καὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐτι ἀπὸ τῆς ἡσυχίας ἄγινε κτλ. suggests that he envisaged three stages at Sparta, first expansion after the reform, second recession under defeats (causing them ἡσυχίαν ἄγινε), and third a return to aggression against Arcadia. Now this interpretation of Sparta's development may be good or bad history; but the implication that the reform really took place shortly before 600 B.C. lies with Wade-Gery and not with Herodotus.

<sup>59</sup> In translating this passage I take the superlatives ἐπὶ πλείστον . . . χρόνον and ἐκ παλαιτάτου to contrast with one

another, emphasising the point that Sparta was longest in distress but earliest to achieve ordered government; the double καὶ, each being emphasised by strong hiatus, to mean 'both . . . and'; and αἰεὶ, being under the double καὶ, to take its starting point from ἐκ παλαιτάτου and to mean that consecutively from the time of the early achievement of orderly government Sparta was free from tyranny. This last point is relevant to Thucydides' mention of tyrannies in other states. For a different interpretation of the passage see Andrewes *CQ* XXXII (1938) 94, who holds that ἐκ παλαιτάτου is to be taken only with the first καὶ clause and who expands the passage to mean 'yet at a very early time she brought herself to order, without undergoing a tyranny; indeed she never had a tyrant, for it is about four hundred years etc.'. If Thucydides meant to say this, he expressed himself badly and this is possible enough; but the explanatory sentence, which follows, states not that Sparta's power was due to the lack of tyranny but that it was due to the continuity of her constitution over four hundred years. This point makes me reject Andrewes' view that 'the end of the στάσις, the change to εὐνομία, is not dated, except by the words ἐκ παλαιτάτου and the presumption is that it comes within the four hundred years'. Gotame, *Commentary on Thucydides*, I 131, is critical of Andrewes' interpretation.



Another point common to Herodotus and Thucydides is the verb *εὐνομεῖσθαι* in the aorist tense. The meaning is clear in Herodotus I 66, 1; having described the nature of the reform he concludes οὕτω μὲν μεταβαλόντες εὐνομήθησαν 'by such a change the Spartans received a well-ordered government'.<sup>60</sup> In the same way Thucydides' words τῇ αὐτῇ πολιτείᾳ χρῶνται illustrate the meaning of εὐνομήθη. Now εὐνομεῖσθαι occurs only here in the work of Thucydides and only twice in that of Herodotus, the second case being in the future tense (I 97, 3 καὶ οὕτω ἢ τε χώρα εὐνομήσεται). The verb, and particularly the aorist tense, is sufficiently rare for its appearance in the same context in Herodotus and Thucydides to be striking. It looks like a technical term in relation to the reform at Sparta.

Both Herodotus and Thucydides supply a date for the reform, the one by reference to the list of kings and the other by reckoning back from the end of the war (whether 421 B.C. or 404 B.C. is not certain).<sup>61</sup> The method of dating is different in each case; but they may have aimed to supply the same date, and that a date derived from the Spartan tradition. But if they are held to give different dates, then our preference will be given to Thucydides as a more competent student of chronology.

#### ARISTOTLE *POLITICS* AND *LAKONON POLITEIA*

Although the fourth-century evidence in general may have been distorted by philosophical and chronological theorists, the *Politics* commands respect. References to the reform or reforms at Sparta are of two kinds, those to which the name Lycurgus is attached and those which are introduced as the work of ὁ νομοθέτης. From the former cases we learn that 'when Lycurgus relinquished his post as guardian of the king Charilaus and went abroad he subsequently passed most of his time in Crete'; as this follows the remark that 'the Spartan constitution appears and indeed is actually stated to have been copied in most of its provisions from the Cretan', it is clear that Aristotle dated the reform to a time after Lycurgus' return from Crete and after the end of his guardianship of Charilaus.<sup>62</sup> Aristotle was sufficiently confident of his dating of the reform to dismiss the alleged meetings between Thales Lycurgus

<sup>60</sup> Andrewes, *loc. cit.* 89 f. has shown correctly that εὐνομία can mean orderliness in the citizens as well as orderliness in government. Aristotle *Politics* 1294a defines these two meanings neatly to illustrate his views on constitutional government. Having stated that in an aristocracy the highest posts are assigned to the best citizens, he concludes 'it seems an impossibility for a city governed not by the aristocracy but by the base to have well-ordered government (εὐνομεῖσθαι), and similarly also for a city that has not a well-ordered government to be governed aristocratically' (trans. Rackham). His point is that in a well-ordered government the best govern *ex hypothesi*, i.e. such a government is an aristocracy. He is dealing here with government and not with the orderliness of citizens, and the verb εὐνομεῖσθαι has a constitutional meaning. In the next sentences he remarks that 'to have good laws enacted but not obey them does not constitute well-ordered government (εὐνομία). Hence one form of good government must be understood to consist in the laws enacted being obeyed, and another form in the laws which the citizens keep being well enacted (for it is possible to obey badly enacted laws)'. It is clear from this that the noun εὐνομία properly comprises both ideas, that of well-ordered government and that of orderliness in the citizens; either idea without the other is an incorrect usage of the word, whether it be to disobey good laws or to obey bad laws. Myres *CR LXI* (1947) 80 f. stresses the double significance of the word. Andrewes appears to me to err in taking one meaning of εὐνομία and excluding the other—e.g. p. 93 'Then, μεταβαλόντες εἰς εὐνομίην, they decided to lead better lives. There is here no word of the constitution, though it is clear that there was an important change of some kind.' Both ideas are implicit in the phrase: orderliness in the citizens in contrast to their being κακοκυμῶντες in earlier times and orderliness in government, as is shown by what follows. For Herodotus wrote μεταβαλόντες εἰς εὐνομίην, and εὐνομία 'in the following manner'

points to the constitutional and social reform of Lycurgus. If further evidence is required, it is supplied by the summary οὕτω μὲν μεταβαλόντες εὐνομήθησαν, which resumes μεταβαλόντες εἰς εὐνομίην. In the passage above, Aristotle uses the verb εὐνομεῖσθαι in the primary sense of having a well-ordered government. Such too is the sense of εὐνομήθησαν in Herodotus; for he has just described the constitutional reform. It cannot be said of this passage that there is here no word of the constitution and the meaning is that they led better lives. I stress this because Andrewes deduces that 'there are two sets of facts which Herodotus has falsely combined. There is the change from κακοκυμία to εὐνομία, a change which was effected about 600 B.C. and has not necessarily any bearing on the constitution whatever, and there is the system of Lycurgus, a system of which the Spartan constitution was a part, whose institution was placed, rightly or wrongly, at a very early stage in the history of Dorian Sparta.' I cannot see any justification in the text of Herodotus for making this separation; the question whether Herodotus' account is due to a misunderstanding of the Spartan tradition is another matter. Equally in the case of Thucydides I 18 I see no grounds for separating his statements into two similar sets of facts; the only case when he uses εὐνομία (which is sometimes emended to αὐτονομία) can carry only one meaning, that of a well-ordered government, viii, 64, 5 ἐχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντικρὺν θάλασσαν τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑποῦλου εὐνομίας οὐ προσημνησάντες. Cf. Ps-Xen. *Atl. Pol.* I, 8-9.

<sup>61</sup> My preference is for the later date, on the ground that the early chapters of book I show some signs of revision after the outbreak of the Decelean war.

<sup>62</sup> 1271b 20; cf. 1316a 34, where the tyranny of Charilaus is said to have ended in a change to aristocracy. This latter passage evidently refers to the reform of Lycurgus; the aristocratic nature of his constitution was later modified by changes in the reign of the king Theopompus.



and Zaleucus.<sup>63</sup> He also considered Lycurgus to be of the middle class, οὐ γὰρ ἦν βασιλεὺς, and to have instituted both a code of laws and a constitution, as Solon did.<sup>64</sup> The only other reference by name to Lycurgus concerns his failure to bring the Spartan women under his laws; his attempt was preceded by wars against Argos Arcadia and Messene.<sup>65</sup> A second reform is attributed to Theopompus, who 'limited the kingship in various ways and in particular set the office of ephors over them' τὴν τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχὴν ἐπικαταστήσαντος.<sup>66</sup>

In the passages where Aristotle refers only to 'the Nomothetes' at Sparta, he clearly means Lycurgus in some cases, and it may be assumed that this is so in others. These passages yield the following information. Lycurgus made matters of property communal by virtue of the *sussitia*; he aimed to make the men staunch, but was negligent in the case of the women; he made it dishonourable to buy or sell a family's existing estate, but he granted the power of alienating property at will by gift or bequest, and he allowed free disposal of an heiress in marriage.<sup>67</sup> He encouraged a high birth-rate at Sparta by his law relieving the father of three sons from military duty and the father of four sons from taxes.<sup>68</sup> In his discussion of the (I understand, fully developed) constitution, Aristotle<sup>69</sup> remarks that the ephorate holds the constitution together, his point being that this office being democratic gives the people an interest in maintaining the status quo: 'Thus the Ephorate is advantageous', he remarks, 'whether this is due to the lawgiver or has come about by chance.' This sentence suggests that the Ephorate was originally instituted by Lycurgus (for 'the lawgiver' cannot mean the king Theopompus), but in a form of which the political results could hardly have been foreseen by Lycurgus. The lawgiver is stated to have used the ambition of the citizens in his regulation of election to the Gerousia, and not to have trusted the kings; and to have aimed at war and supremacy.<sup>70</sup>

It is probable that there is also a reference to Lycurgus in the words οὐ καλῶς οὐδὲ περὶ τὰ συσσίτια τὰ καλούμενα φιδίτια νενομοθέτηται τῷ καταστήσαντι πρῶτον; Aristotle's criticism here is that all Spartiates whether rich or poor had to contribute, and those who could not contribute lost their citizenship (ὅρος δὲ τῆς πολιτείας οὗτός ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ὁ πάτριος).<sup>71</sup> For Aristotle derives the Spartan *sussitia* from Crete, whence Lycurgus copied some institutions.<sup>72</sup> It would seem then that Aristotle ascribed the introduction of the *sussitia* at Sparta to Lycurgus.

While the *Politics* is from the pen of Aristotle, the historical section of the *Lakonon Politeia*, as in the case of the *Athenaion Politeia*, may have been written by a pupil of Aristotle and not by Aristotle himself. The fragments have come down to us through the medium of different authors, and in the case of those in Plutarch's *Lycurgus* through the medium both of Hermippus and Plutarch.<sup>73</sup> Yet, if we bear in mind the analogy of the *Athenaion Politeia* and Plutarch's *Solon*, we may be fairly confident that the fragments are correctly transmitted. The first fragment which is relevant dates Lycurgus to the Olympic truce on the evidence of the quoit bearing his name at Olympia, that is c. 776; Plutarch then mentions that this view was not accepted by other writers.<sup>74</sup> A view common to Plato, Aristotle and Ephorus states that Lycurgus made visits continually to Delphi to consult Apollo and was instructed in his

<sup>63</sup> 1274a 30.

<sup>64</sup> 1296a 20; 1273b 33.

<sup>65</sup> 1270a 1. That the wars precede Lycurgus, is certainly implied by the connexion with the next sentence σχολάζαντες δὲ. It is just possible that Aristotle was referring to later wars in which the laxity of the women was originally of little significance because the wars were on foreign soil.

<sup>66</sup> 1313a 25; ἐπικαταστήσαντος can mean either 'set over', cf. Plato *Tim.* 72b, or (in later Greek) 'establish besides'. It does not state that the office of ephor was instituted by Theopompus.

<sup>67</sup> 1263b 41; 1269b 20; 1270a 20. The context of the last passage shows that Aristotle is thinking of landed property; despite a lacuna in the text the sense is not in doubt. It is probable that a distinction was drawn between the acquired property and the original lot of land, cf. Heracleides Ponticus fr. 2 (7) ἀσχερόν πωλεῖν γῆν τῆς δὲ ἀρχαίας μοίρας οὐδὲ ἔξεστιν, probably deriving from Arist. *Lac.*

*Pol.*, and Plut. *Inst. Lac.* 22 τῆς ἀρχῆθεν διαπταγμένης μοίρας; cf. Ziehen *Hermes* LXVIII (1933) 227 and Meier *Klio Beiheft* XLII (1939) 38 f. Cf. Hdt. IV 57, 4 on heiresses at Sparta.

<sup>68</sup> 1270b 1. The word ἀφρουρος is probably Laconian, cf. φρουρὰν φαίνειν, and refers to service in the levy, and is not Attic, referring to garrison service.

<sup>69</sup> 1270b 18.

<sup>70</sup> 1271a 13 and 23; 1333b 11.

<sup>71</sup> 1271a 27.

<sup>72</sup> 1272a 3 τὸ γὰρ ἀρχαῖον ἐκάλουν οἱ Λάκωνες οὐ φιδίτια ἀλλ' ἀνδρία, καθάπερ οἱ Κρήτες, ἧ καὶ εἶλον ὅτι ἐκείθεν ἐλήλυθεν; cf. 1271b 20 for Lycurgus and Crete.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Kessler *Plutarch's Leben des Lykurgos* (1910) 104 f.

<sup>74</sup> Fr. 533 ap. Plut. *Lyc.* 1; for the dating of the Olympic truce, cf. Jacoby, *Philol. Untersuch.* 16 (1902) 116. Cf. Heracleides Ponticus fr. 2 (4).



constitutional measures.<sup>75</sup> The most important fragments ascribed by Rose to the *Lakonon Politeia* are Plutarch *Lycurgus* 5 and 6, which contain the discussion of the number of Lycurgus' gerontes and the Rhetra and its rider with the commentary thereon.<sup>76</sup> The institution of the Crypteia is also attributed to Lycurgus.<sup>77</sup>

## II

## CONCLUSIONS

(a) *The Origin of the Reform*

The evidence available to ancient writers who investigated the early history of Sparta must have been considerable. In the seventh and fifth centuries oral tradition was still strong in Sparta.<sup>78</sup> This medium is presumably responsible for transmitting and narrating the lists of early kings, the invasion of the Heracleidae, the institutions of Eurysthenes and Procles, the inauguration of the Helot system, the antecedents to the colonisation of Thera, which included the enfranchisement of the Minyae at Sparta, and the capture of Amyclae with the help of the Theban Aegeidae.<sup>79</sup> The brevity of the allusions made to such events by Tyrtaeus and Pindar, for instance, shows that the traditions were widely known in the seventh and fifth centuries. In the eighth century oral tradition was reinforced by the keeping of records, such as those of the victors at Olympia, the ephors at Sparta, and the foundation-dates of colonies. The course of the First Messenian War was also handed down for Tyrtaeus to describe in the next century. Oracular responses from Delphi in the eighth and seventh centuries were transmitted in a form which has been recognised in some cases as genuine.<sup>80</sup> In the seventh century the evidence multiplies with the development of elegiac iambic and lyric poetry.

Much of this evidence was genuine and historical. In the hands of a competent historian such as Thucydides it yielded a convincing picture of early Greece and a chronology of the western colonies at least, which is becoming more and more acceptable to modern historians.<sup>81</sup> In the hands of a competent constitutionalist such as Aristotle it provided a penetrating study of early institutions in Greece. There is therefore no *a priori* reason to suppose that the traditions concerning the institutions of Sparta in the ninth and eighth centuries are necessarily fictitious; it is sounder to begin with the hypothesis that a basis of truth underlies them. Nor should we forget that the body of evidence was considerable and that much of it was earlier in origin than the fifth century. Herodotus was not the fountainhead of traditions about the Spartan state.

Herodotus and his successors were unanimous in ascribing the reform to Lycurgus. It is a commonplace of the tradition about archaic Greece that sweeping reforms were thus ascribed to individual Nomothetae. That a basis of truth underlay this tradition can hardly be doubted; for in cases where we have more evidence individuals such as Dracon, Solon, and Cleisthenes certainly carried out sweeping reforms. The statement in Herodotus that a cult was established in honour of Lycurgus is confirmed by later visitors to Sparta and by inscriptions.<sup>82</sup> The relationship between Lycurgus the legislator and Lycurgus the recipient of cult-worship was already accepted in the time of Herodotus, both at Delphi and at Sparta. Beyond this point there is no certainty; we can only hazard the opinion that the reform was probably carried by one man and that the man was probably named Lycurgus.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Fr. 535 ap. Clemens Alex. *Strom.* I 152.

<sup>76</sup> Fr. 536 and 537; cf. *Lex Patm.* 152 and Heracleides Ponticus fr. 2 (4) (5).

<sup>77</sup> Fr. 538 ap. Plut. *Lyc.* 28. I do not agree with Kessler *op. cit.* 111, that Rose has not included sufficient of this chapter in the fragment. Cf. Heracleides Ponticus fr. 2 (4).

<sup>78</sup> As exemplified by Tyrtaeus' poems and as indicated by Thucydides I 4 and 9.

<sup>79</sup> Hdt. vii 204, viii 131; Tyrtaeus 2; Hellanicus *FGH* 4 F 116, Plato *Laws* iii 683d; Hellanicus F 183, Hdt. iv 145 f.; Pindar *Pyth.* I 65, *Isth.* vii 12 f., *Pyth.* v 75, Arist. *Lac. Pol.* fr. 532; cf. Plato *Laws* 682c.

<sup>80</sup> Parke *The Delphic Oracle* 67 'curiously enough, the original and historic oracle about Gela appears to be preserved', and 70 (of the foundation of Syracuse) 'in fact there is no reason for denying its claim to be authentic'.

<sup>81</sup> Dunbabin *The Western Greeks* 470 'it is established that the accepted tradition of the foundation of the colonies, found in Thucydides and Antiochos and in the main followed by later sources, contains a great deal that is historical and substantially accurate'.

<sup>82</sup> The evidence is cited by Wide *Lakonische Kulte* 281 f.

<sup>83</sup> For a summary of views on this topic cf. How and Wells, *Commentary on Herodotus* I 85.



That Delphi was consulted in the archaic period by Sparta as well as by other states is not in doubt.<sup>84</sup> The earliest citation of an oracular response from Delphi to Sparta occurs in Tyrtaeus IIIa and b (whether one of the opening couplets is discarded or not). As Tyrtaeus appears to have been a traditionalist himself and as his audience at Sparta was versed in the tradition about Theopompus and Polydorus, it is not reasonable to suppose that Tyrtaeus could have fabricated this oracle himself and then convinced his contemporaries of its authenticity. Moreover, the verse oracle in Tyrtaeus is found to be closely related to parts of two prose documents, the Rhetra and its rider, which are accepted by modern scholars as authentic.<sup>85</sup> If then a genuine oracle of the eighth century was known in seventh-century Sparta, there are some grounds for believing that oracles of the ninth century referring to Lycurgus may also have existed. In particular, the oracle quoted by Herodotus (I 65, 3) to illustrate the fame of Lycurgus may well be genuine.<sup>86</sup>

In the account of Herodotus there is no difference of opinion about the oracle which illustrates the fame of Lycurgus. In the next sentence he records two contrasted views as to the origin of the system inaugurated by Lycurgus; the first view, that the priestess at Delphi instructed Lycurgus in the matter, was given to Herodotus by τινες (presumably the priests at Delphi), and the second, that Lycurgus brought the institutions from Crete, was given to him by the Spartans themselves. Herodotus evidently regarded the two views as incompatible. Aristotle, Plato, Ephorus, and others regarded the two traditions as compatible: they believed that Lycurgus copied the institutions from Crete but was also instructed by the oracle at Delphi.<sup>87</sup> In general, this seems a reasonable procedure; for when intending legislators or intending founders of a colony visited Delphi it may be presumed that they wanted a blessing on the programme they already had in mind. We may then accept the two traditions as compatible, and we may explain the form in which Herodotus puts them as due to his informants wishing to claim a monopoly for Delphi or for Crete.

Aristotle neatly summarises the case for the Cretan origin of the Spartan system: καὶ γὰρ ἔοικε καὶ λέγεται δὲ τὰ πλείεστα μεμιμηθῆναι τὴν Κρητικὴν πολιτείαν ἢ τῶν Λακωνῶν (*Politics* 1271b 23). 'It is probable and indeed it is stated' invites the sceptic to argue that the statement has grown out of the probability. Aristotle rightly introduces the statement as a further piece of evidence: for, as it was stated by the Spartans themselves, the statement can hardly be suspected as inspired by any patriotic or other tendency. Even without the Spartan tradition the probability would be high in its own right. The two constitutions are so similar and the general relations between Sparta and Crete are so close that one must have been copied from the other. As the Dorians were installed in Crete before the Dorian invasion, it is natural that they should have reached political maturity before the Dorians of the Peloponnese. And the ancient belief was that Crete was the first to evolve a 'constitution', this belief dating back to the seventh century.<sup>88</sup> Nor is the reason for Sparta turning to Crete difficult to grasp: both states were faced with the problem of holding down a very large subject population.

<sup>84</sup> For example *cf.* Pind. *Isth.* vii 12 (of Amyclae).

<sup>85</sup> *E.g.* Parke, *op. cit.* 105 (of the Rhetra) 'its traces of archaic Spartan diction prove that it is a genuinely ancient traditional document'; Busolt *Staatskunde* (1920) 46.

<sup>86</sup> The oracle is frequently quoted in later authors, *cf.* *Wide luc. cit.* It is cited in Diod. vii 12 (Ephorus) and in *Consil. Exc.* with two additional lines:

ἦμας δ' εὐνομίαν αἰτούμενος· αὐτὰρ ἔγωγε  
βώσω τὴν οὐκ ἄλλη ἱππιδνεὴ πόλιν ἔξει.

One explanation is that these lines were added at some later date, in order to support the ascription of the constitution to Delphi alone; another is that the lines belong to another oracle (for Diod. *loc. cit.* refers to several such oracles) and were wrongly added to the oracle cited by Herodotus. The former is the usual explanation, *cf.* Parke *op. cit.* 102 who refers to Pausanias' pamphlet mentioned in Strabo 366 as a possible source for the addition. It should be noted however that Strabo does not say that the oracles cited by Pausanias were not genuine and Pausanias' case would

certainly be a better one if they were already accepted as genuine before he wrote. Nor is it clear how the addition of these lines would help the case of Pausanias. The evidence is hardly sufficient to justify any choice between the two explanations.

<sup>87</sup> Arist. *Lac. Pol.* fr. 335 ap. Clemens Alex. *Strom.* I 152 τὸν τι αὐτὸν Λυκούργον τὰ νομοθετικά εἰς Δελφοῦς πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα συνεχῆς ἀπύοντα παιδεύεσθαι γράφουσι Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Ἑφορος. The same authors also maintained that Lycurgus copied some of the institutions of Crete: Arist. *Politics* 1271b 23, 1272a 1, Ps-Plato *Minos* 318c etc., Ephorus ap. Strabo 477 and 481. The value of Delphi's sanction is emphasised by Xen. *Lac. Pol.* VIII 5.

<sup>88</sup> Heracleides Ponticus fr. 3 (2) cites Archilochus as an exponent of this view: ὅτι δὲ ἀρχαιοτάτη τῶν πολιτειῶν ἡ Κρητικὴ, ἔρπαινε καὶ Ὅμηρος λέγων τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν εὐ νομοτάτους καὶ Ἀρχιλόχους ἐν οἷς ἱπποκῶπτων τινὰ φησιν. . . . νόμος δὲ Κρητικὸς διδάσκατος. Although the fragment is so short, it seems to give more support to the view (probably Aristotle's) than does the citation from Homer.



(b) *The Nature of the Reform*

The tradition concerning the post-invasion period at Sparta is that the Spartans maintained the laws of Aegimius under the early kings,<sup>89</sup> reduced the bulk of the earlier population in the plain to the status of serfs called Helots,<sup>90</sup> and incorporated in their citizen body some non-Spartan peoples.<sup>91</sup> This tradition is consistent with our knowledge of other Dorian states on the mainland. It means that the organisation of society at Sparta was based on the three racial tribes, the Hylleis, Dymanes, and Pamphyloi, with their constituent phratries and gene.<sup>92</sup> The adoption of unrelated peoples into the racial tribes was paralleled in other states of a similar type.<sup>93</sup> This initial period was marked by disorder and strife which were long-lived but came to an end with the reform of Lycurgus.<sup>94</sup>

The nature of the reform is summarised in the Rhetra, the original charter of the new order at Sparta. The previous organisation by racial tribes was outmoded, and a new organisation by tribes and obes was introduced. The nature of the ὥβαι is fortunately agreed: they formed five regions or wards of Sparta, being by name Pitana, Mesoa, Kynosoura (or Konosoura), Limnae, and Amyclae. Of these only Amyclae lies outside the area of Sparta town.<sup>95</sup> The other four existed both before and after the reform of Lycurgus as the villages which constituted Sparta town.<sup>96</sup> The new tribes which were based on the obes were also five in number. At the time of the reform the membership of the five tribes corresponded with the residents of the five obes; but as membership of the tribe was hereditary,<sup>97</sup> this correspondence ceased to exist when a family moved its residence from one obe to another. In the same way the ten tribes of Cleisthenes originally comprised the residents in certain demes, but they soon ceased to do so because the hereditary principle operated after his reform. The names of four tribes are known, the Limnaeis and Kynosoureis from inscriptions and the Pitantatai and Mesoatai from lexicographers; the fifth was probably the Amyclaeis.<sup>98</sup> This indicates that the new tribes were once based on the obes, as the Rhetra itself suggests.<sup>99</sup> From the new organisation of the citizens sprang a new organisation of the army in five λόχοι; their names were Αἰδώλιος, Σίνις, Σαρίμας, Πλόας, and Μεσοάτης.<sup>100</sup> The fact that the Μεσοάτης λόχος bears the same name as the obe Μεσόα and the Phyle of Mesoa is an indication that the λόχοι were drawn each from

<sup>89</sup> Pindar *Pyth.* I 62 f. Hellanic. *FGH* 4 F 116 stated that Eurysthenes and Procles drew up the constitution; he was censured by Ephorus (70 F 118) on the grounds that he had not mentioned Lycurgus but had attributed the achievements of Lycurgus to others. The fact that Hellanicus did not mention Lycurgus shows that he was not discussing the Lycurgean reform; the burden of Ephorus' censure is that Hellanicus transferred to an earlier date some matters which Ephorus thought were due to Lycurgus. In this dispute one has more confidence in the view of Hellanicus. The passage does not reveal Hellanicus' date for the Lycurgean reform.

<sup>90</sup> Hellanicus 188, whatever the value of his derivation of the name from Helos.

<sup>91</sup> Hdt. IV 145 Minyans from Lesbos; Arist. *Pol.* 1270a ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν προτέρων βασιλείων μετέβησαν τῆς πολιτείας, which probably refers to the period before Lycurgus; Hdt. iv 149 Aegeidae, cf. vii 15, Arist. fr. 532.

<sup>92</sup> Tyrtaeus I 12; Pindar *Pyth.* I 62 f and Schol. *ad. loc.*; Schol. Pindar *Pyth.* v 92. The 27 phratries survived in the festival of the Karneia, Athenaeus 141 F; the three racial tribes survived as the Ionic tribes did at Athens after Cleisthenes' reform.

<sup>93</sup> Adoption at Sparta in the case of the Minyae, Hdt. IV 145 γῆς τε μετέβησαν καὶ ἐς φυλὰς διεβάσαντο; at Athens, Philochorus fr. 91.

<sup>94</sup> Hdt. I 65, 2; Thuc. I 18.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Ehrenberg *PW* s.v. *Obai*; e.g. *IG* V 1 688 ὥβα Λυμαιῶ[ν].

<sup>96</sup> Paus. III 16, 9-10 οἱ Λυμαῖται Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ Κυνουραίων καὶ (αἱ) ἐκ Μεσοῦς τε καὶ Πιτάνης θύοντες τῇ Ἀρτεμίδι κτλ. before the time of Lycurgus. Thuc. I 10 πόλεως . . . κατὰ κώμας τῶν παλαιῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος τρόπῳ οἰκισθῆναι of Sparta in his own day. Hdt. III 55 calls Pitana a δῆμος.

<sup>97</sup> Plut. *Lyc.* XVI a new-born child is brought before the

eldest φύλῃ by the father; this suggests that the child belonged by birth to the same tribe as the father.

<sup>98</sup> *IG* V 1 564, 4-5 τῆς Λυμαιῶν φυλῆς; 480, 9-10 φυλῆς Κυνουραίων. Hesychius s.v. Πιτανάτης στρατός . . . ἵσθι ἐλὶ ἡ Πιτάνη φυλή; cf. Hdt. IX 53 for the form ὁ Πιτανηταίων λόχος. Steph. Byz. s.v. Μεσοῶς τόπος Λακωνικῆς . . . ἵσθι καὶ φυλή Λακωνικῆς τὸ ἔθνικόν Μεσοάτης; cf. *IG* V 1 515 for the form Μεσοάτης. The Ἀμυκλαῖοι or Ἀμυκλαῖς appear in Xen. *Hell.* iv 5, 10-11, but whether as members of an obe or a tribe is not clear. The entry of Hesychius s.v. Δύση ἐν Σπάρτῃ φυλή καὶ τόπος should probably be referred to the Dymanes, one of the three racial tribes; cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Δυμῶν, Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* I 121 Παμφυλῆς καὶ Δυμανὶς φυλαὶ ἐν Λακεδαιμόνῃ, Hesychius s.v. Δύσμαιναι (perhaps Δύμισσαι).

<sup>99</sup> The fact that the phyle-members and the obe-members of e.g. Konosoura are both called Konosoureis has led to the belief that the phyle and the obe are 'identisch' (Ehrenberg *Obai* col. 1694) and that the terms are applied in late inscriptions to 'the same unit' (W-G, *CQ* XXXVIII 117). If they were synonymous and interchangeable the retention of both terms would be surprising, as Kahrstedt *Gr. Staatsrecht* 20 has remarked. But the fact that they are homonymous does not mean that they are synonymous; in the same way 'Jersey men' can be used both of men not resident in Jersey but descended from original Jersey families and of men resident in Jersey. The interpretation given in the text accounts also for the phenomenon in *IG* V 1, 515 Δαμάτριον Αριστάνδρου Μισο[σταν] ἐπιμελητὴν Ἀμυκ[λων] γινόμενον, for there is no difficulty in a member of the Mesoa tribe holding office in the obe of Amyclae or *vice versa*. On the other hand Ehrenberg has to assume that the Epimeletes were appointed by the state. The view of Kahrstedt *Gr. Staatsrecht* (1922) 20 f. that the obes are subdivisions of the tribes is not warranted by the evidence.

<sup>100</sup> Aristotle fr. 541.



one ward and tribe of which the personnel were originally the same; whether recruitment was based subsequently on the hereditary Phyle or on the residential divisions in obes is not known.<sup>101</sup>

The precise significance of the reform is not immediately apparent. While the earlier state was based on the three racial tribes, Hylleis, Dymanes, and Pamphyloi, this particular racial principle was abandoned and the new principle of a residential qualification was introduced for the organisation of the franchise and for political representation.<sup>102</sup> As each obe may be assumed to have been peopled by members of all three racial tribes, the new system cut clean across the old system. Yet each obe, being in essence a village, may be assumed to have contained the gene and phratries which were subdivisions of the racial system; thus the racial principle at the level lower than the three tribes still persisted, and the five new tribes each comprised clans which had a local organisation and a loyalty of kinship within their obe. In this vital respect then Lycurgus' reform is totally unlike the electoral reform of Cleisthenes in Attica.<sup>103</sup> It seems probable then that the Rhetra gave a new definition to the Spartan state. It marked the *ξυνοικία* of five villages which now become the wards of the πόλις Sparta, and it replaced the tribal state of Hylleis, Dymanes, and Pamphyloi with a system of five tribes based upon the five wards. It appointed the area between Babuka and Knakion (within the synoecised state) as the place where the πολῖται in their new divisions should assemble henceforth 'for ever and ever' (ὥρας ἐξ ὥρας ἀπελλάζειν μεταξύ Βαβύκας τε καὶ Κνακίωνος).<sup>104</sup> This momentous *ξυνοικία* was consecrated by the foundation of the shrine of Zeus Syllanios and Athena Syllania, the protectors presumably of the new state,<sup>105</sup> and was blessed by Apollo of Delphi. In this respect then the parallel at Athens is to be found not in Cleisthenes' reforms but in the *ξυνοικία* of Theseus as described by Thucydides (II 15, 2) and as celebrated in perpetuity by a festival of state.

The political reform was strengthened by a reform of the social system. The strict family control of property, which was inherent in the system of racial tribes, phratries, and gene, was impaired by new laws. The right to alienate property by will and the free disposal of heiresses in marriage were innovations due to Lycurgus. At the same time steps were taken to prevent the growth of a serious inequality in wealth among the citizens which might ensue from the liberation of property. A moral stigma was attached to the buying or selling of the (probably post-invasion) κλῆροι of landed property.<sup>106</sup> And it was from these κλῆροι, and not from public land as in Crete, that the Spartiate had to contribute to the sussition in order to keep his citizenship.<sup>107</sup> Thus the family control of property was weakened without upsetting the existing system of land-tenure.<sup>108</sup>

Up to this point the reform of Lycurgus is similar to later reforms in other states. But,

<sup>101</sup> As Hdt. IX 53 names the Περωνίης λόχος and ὁ Περωνίειαν λόχος (if the MS. reading is retained) and also refers to Περώνη as a deme (III 55), he probably derived the name of the λόχος from the obe. Thucydides I 20, 3, however, asserts that no such λόχος ever existed. Despite the view of W-G, CQ XXXVIII 121, that 'Thucydides has slipped up badly', there seems to me little doubt that Thucydides is correct; for he would have been rash indeed to be dogmatic on a point which could be settled by reference to Sparta or Spartan prisoners of war. Thucydides was, I think, drawing attention merely to an error of nomenclature (for Aristotle too includes no λόχος of this name) and not to an error about the method of recruitment. In the fourth century, when the Spartan army was brigaded by μόραι, the evidence of Xen. *Hell.* IV 5, 10-11 suggests that male members of the same family were in different μόραι and that of Ἀμυκλαῖοι or Ἀμυκλαῖες were also in different units, whether the latter were members of an obe or of a tribe named after Amyclae. But this itself may have been an innovation introduced at the time of the new organisation by μόραι.

<sup>102</sup> I take it that the phrase in the Rhetra φυλὰς φυλάξαντα καὶ ὥρας ὁρίζοντα refers to divisions of the people for different purposes, for instance for purposes of election and military service on the one hand and for purposes of local government and representation on the other.

<sup>103</sup> In taking separate demes from each of the three

regions of Attica to form a new tribe Cleisthenes cut across the local centres of clan organisation; cf. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* XXI, 3 where it is pointed out that Cleisthenes abandoned the earlier τριττός.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Plut. *Pelop.* XVII quoted on p. 43, n. 9.

<sup>105</sup> The importance of Zeus and Athena in the state-cult of classical Sparta is emphasised by Wide *Lakonische Kulte* 3 and 54, citing Zeus Agoraios and Athena Agoraia, Zeus Amboulaios and Athena Amboulia, Zeus Xenios and Athena Xenia, all associated in Pausanias' time with the contemporary Agora or the old Agora. Athena Chalicioicos is also named Athena Poliouchos, and besides her shrine stood the statue of Zeus Hypatos; there were also cults of Zeus Lakedaimon, Zeus Boulaios, Zeus Tropaios and Zeus Agetor. The sacrifice to Zeus and Athena, which the king made before leading the Spartan army out of Spartan territory (Xen. *Loc. Pol.* 13), probably dates back to the time of the *ξυνοικία*. It is possible that the cult title Syllanios is peculiar to the act of the *ξυνοικία*.

<sup>106</sup> Arist. *Pol.* 1270a; the sentence concerning the disposal in marriage of the heiress seems to refer back to Lycurgus' legislation.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.* 1271a; and 1272a.

<sup>108</sup> The story of a Lycurgean γῆς ἀνάδοσις in Plut. *Lyc.* VIII is clearly a late invention. When the demand arose in the second Messenian War, Tyrtaeus opposed it in his 'Eunomia' presumably because it was a novelty (Arist. *Pol.* 1307b).



whereas Solon and Cleisthenes, for example, left the phratries and gene intact in social life,<sup>109</sup> Lycurgus severed the roots of family and clan loyalty by the institution of the *agoge* which took the boy out of his family environment at the age of seven and trained him for citizenship at the age of thirty. Under the previous social system admission to the phratry had presumably been the final qualification for the franchise, as in other mainland states; this was replaced by admission to the sussition on successful completion of the *agoge*, with the obligation henceforward of contributing to the sussition.<sup>110</sup> Under this new orientation of society towards the state all Spartiates (save the kings) were entitled *ἰσοποιοί*; for all the traditional distinctions of blood and wealth which marked the racial aristocracies of the Greek world had been swept away. Within the franchised class a new basis of equality had been established. In this equality, and not in the military prowess which developed later from it,<sup>111</sup> Lycurgus found both the cure for the longest stasis known to Herodotus and Thucydides and the guarantee of stability which made Sparta unique for centuries to come.

In order to secure his political and social reforms Lycurgus carried the constitutional reform which is recorded in the Rhetra. The pre-Lycurgean constitution is not known. But the analogy of other primitive states suggests that the monarchy was powerful, that the Gerousia was composed of the heads of tribes, phratries, or gene, and that the assembly was of very limited competence. Under the Lycurgean constitution the inclusion of the kings in the Gerousia probably indicates a diminution of their powers, as Aristotle suggests.<sup>112</sup> The membership of the Gerousia was changed in number and presumably in personnel, and its powers were defined as probouleutic with the right of proposal and of dismissal in relation to the assembly. The assembly possessed the right of discussion but not of proposal. Its decision on the proposals of the Gerousia was binding. As an elective assembly the people chose members for the Gerousia from among all Spartiates of the age of sixty. Thus the sovereignty of the franchised class was firmly based in the new constitution. As a pact between a strong executive and a sovereign assembly the Rhetra was well designed to ensure stability and to safeguard the political and social reform of Spartan society.

According to Aristotle, Lycurgus carried reforms in law as well as in the constitution.<sup>113</sup> Among these we should probably include the institution of the five Ephors,<sup>114</sup> whose original powers are concerned with the maintenance of the laws and of the social system.<sup>115</sup> At this stage, however, the Ephorate did not possess a place in the constitution. Its rise to political power is marked by its becoming the Eponymous office of the year in 757 B.C. and receiving important powers in the reign of Theopompus.<sup>116</sup> The ultimate result of its rise was to strengthen the hands of the executive at the expense both of the kingship and of the assembly. In the same reign the rider to the Rhetra was enacted on the initiative of the kings and with the sanction of Delphi;<sup>117</sup> its effect was to curtail the assembly's power of discussion, and it led to the later system whereby the assembly was required to ratify the unanimous proposals of the Gerousia (including the kings) and was entitled to discuss only those issues on which the Gerousia was divided.<sup>118</sup> These modifications of the Lycurgean constitution did not change the fundamental character of the Spartan state. Tyrtæus, Herodotus, and Thucydides were justified in attributing the greatness of Sparta to the Eunomia of Lycurgus.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>109</sup> Arist. *Ath. Pol.* XXI 6.

<sup>110</sup> Xen. *Lac. Pol.* X 7.

<sup>111</sup> Plato *Laws* 630 pointed out the fallacy of supposing that Lycurgus' aim was primarily military.

<sup>112</sup> *Pol.* 1271a 23.

<sup>113</sup> *Pol.* 1273b 34.

<sup>114</sup> Hdt. I 65, 5; Xen. *Lac. Pol.* VIII 3; Arist. *Pol.* 1270b 20 (discussed above p. 56).

<sup>115</sup> Plut. *Cleomenes* 10, where the tradition is included in the tendentious speech of Cleomenes. Arist. *Lac. Pol.* fr. 539 cites the proclamation made to the people by the Ephors on entering office *καταπαύσαι τὸν πόλεμον καὶ προσέχειν τοῖς νόμοις*. Cases of disobedience under the *agoge* were brought before the Ephors, Xen. *Lac. Pol.* IV 6. For the general question cf. Busolt *GG* I 555 f.

<sup>116</sup> Plut. *Lyc.* VII implying that the Ephorate was then

created for the first time. Arist. *Pol.* 1313a 25, cf. 1270b 20, appears to attribute its origin to Lycurgus and its emergence as a powerful factor to the reign of Theopompus. As Aristotle may still be the ultimate source of Plutarch at the beginning of chapter VII, Plutarch's account may be corrected by reference to Aristotle. The reference to Chilon's institution of the Ephorate in Diod. *Laert.* I 68 has been convincingly explained as a misunderstanding of Sosicrates, cf. Busolt *GG* I 556, 2. Plato *Laws* 692 also puts the constitutional importance of the Ephors later than the reform of Lycurgus.

<sup>117</sup> Plut. *Lyc.* VI.

<sup>118</sup> Arist. *Pol.* 1272a 12, 1273a 6-13; Diod. XI 50 and Thuc. I 79 f.

<sup>119</sup> Tyrtæus *Eunomia* fr. 2 and 3; Hdt. I 65-66; Thuc. I 18.



(c) *The Date of the Reform*

If we except the after-thought of Aristotle which was based on the discovery of the quoit at Olympia, the ancient tradition is unanimous in dating the reform to within the hundred or so years between the late tenth and the late ninth century. The variation within the hundred years is not surprising, for the ancient like the modern systems of dating between the Sack of Troy and the beginning of eponymous lists in the eighth century were tentative and controversial. Space does not permit a review of these systems or of such complicating factors as the kings' lists at Sparta and the relationship of Lycurgus to either of the royal houses. I am concerned only with the fact that the early dating is unanimous, as compared with the late dating to c. 600 or 550 B.C. by modern scholars, and I must be content to state my preference for Thucydides' chronology which places the reform in the late ninth century.

That this chronology is consistent with all the literary evidence and in particular with the fragment ascribed to Tyrtaeus as fr. 1, has been demonstrated in the earlier part of this paper. The Rhetra then is the record of an enactment of the late ninth century; hence the omission of the Ephors (who became eponymous magistrates only later in 757 B.C.)<sup>120</sup> requires no explanation, and the addition of the rider by Polydorus and Theopompus in the eighth century is to be accepted, together with Tyrtaeus' paraphrase in his *Eunomia* and Aristotle's commentary in Plutarch's *Lycurgus*. Nor is any surprise occasioned by mention of the ὁμοῖοι in the founding of Tarentum (Arist. *Pol.* 1306b 30), of συσσίτια in connexion with Terpander, or of ἀνδρεῖα in Alcman (fr. 71).<sup>121</sup>

The final test is whether this chronology fits in with our scanty knowledge of the archaic period as convincingly as it apparently did with the ancients' much fuller knowledge. Here we must be clear about certain aspects of the Lycurgean reform. Firstly, it concerns the organisation of Sparta and of the Spartiates, not of the Lacedaemonian state in the later significance of the Spartans and the Perioeci. Secondly, the Lycurgean system and the Lycurgean constitution did not exercise a repressive and degenerating influence on the Spartiates; rather they gave a strength and a stability which were unparalleled in the Greek world because they fitted the psychology of the Spartan people and gave expression to those qualities so eloquently summarised by Archidamus (Thuc. I 84, 3). Thirdly, the association of the reform with the practice of ξενελασία rests on no good authority;<sup>122</sup> there is in fact no trace of this practice before the fifth century. The truth lies rather with Herodotus (I 65, 2), that before the reform the Lacedaemonians were ξεινοῖσι ἀπρόσμεικτοι.

These preliminary considerations should govern our approach to the evidence of archaeology, which is limited in quantity and difficult to interpret. As the reform marked the change from a very long period of stasis to a period of settled conditions and expansion, we should expect to find a gradual development of art and of culture. The advocates of the late dating looked for the opposite effect from the reform, in my opinion wrongly; the first dating of the excavators at Sparta appeared to support them, but the later and now accepted dating is

<sup>120</sup> The existence of this list of Ephors from 757 is generally accepted both in its own right and because Ephors are found in colonies of Sparta (Thera, Taras by implication from Heraclea, Siris, and Cyrene).

<sup>121</sup> These are all points which weigh heavily against the dating of the reform to c. 600 or 550 B.C. The most awkward is the fact that Tyrtaeus III a and b paraphrases part of the Rhetra with its rider. W-G, *CQ* XXXVIII 115, taking the Rhetra to be contemporary with Tyrtaeus, argues that Tyrtaeus 'sought to reinforce its authority by asserting that there was (presumably in the Royal Archives) an ancient oracle enjoining the substance of Clauses II and III [i.e. the latter part of the Rhetra and the rider]'. This hypothesis is far from convincing. Faced with a fundamental reform the Spartans would be swayed not by an oracle of academic antiquity but by the sanction of Delphi at the moment—a sanction which could doubtless be obtained and which the tradition says was in fact obtained. It is necessary to assume that the Kings, the Pythii at Sparta, and Tyrtaeus

combined to concoct a falsehood which by the standard of their time was impious, and it is hard to believe that the Spartans would be persuaded that the Rhetra was a revival of an old one never enacted. Ehrenberg *NdS* 33 and 49 cuts the Gordian knot more boldly 'Dass sie den Inhalt der grossen Rhetra wiedergeben, kann kein ernstlicher Zweifel sein. Dann aber können sie nicht von Tyrtaeos stammen'. 'Der Gesetzgeber Lykurg ist eine Schöpfung des wahren Gesetzgebers von 550.' It is however difficult to imagine how the lawgiver of 550 was able to convince his contemporaries that the reform was really due to the remote Lycurgus and how the famous poem *Eunomia* was foisted into the poems of Tyrtaeus after 550 B.C. In *Epitumbion Siroboda* Ehrenberg has modified his position to the extent that he regards the poem of Tyrtaeus as genuine.

<sup>122</sup> Plut. *Lyc.* IX and XXVI, *Agis* X; cf. Kessler *op. cit.* 92 f. The tradition of poets and artists visiting Sparta covers the seventh and sixth centuries, cf. Tod-Wace *Catalogue of Sp.* pp. 99 f.



opposed to their view. For Spartan art does not decline rapidly until after 500 B.C. This fact and the fallacy of their assumption were vigorously pointed out by Blakeway.<sup>123</sup> On the other hand, excavation in Laconia has revealed that the earliest settlement which may be equated with the Dorians is at Amyclae, where the cult of Apollo was presumably instituted.<sup>124</sup> The next site to be occupied is on the Acropolis of Sparta, where the cult of Athena Chalkioikos was instituted.<sup>125</sup> Both these sites were in occupation in the Protogeometric period, not later than the tenth century, and they both used a slipless pottery of red-brown clay; but the site on the Acropolis soon developed the ornamentation of concentric circles on less coarse pottery.<sup>126</sup> Before the end of the tenth century the site of the Artemisium, where the cult of Artemis Orthia was established, shows evidence of occupation in a style of slipped pottery in which the concentric-circle ornamentation dies out.<sup>127</sup> These three sites are for a time contemporary, but have different styles of pottery. Although the evidence is very scanty, it suggests that in the late tenth century Sparta was not yet synoecised. In the Geometric period (900-700 B.C.) the Artemisium is an important site with a continuous style for some two hundred years, which is also found at the Acropolis, Chalkioikos, Heroon, Menelaion, and Amyclae.<sup>128</sup> This suggests that in the ninth century Sparta became synoecised, and settled conditions in Sparta yielded a continuous if dull style.<sup>129</sup> In the late ninth century there are two important indications of contacts with the south-east, the first known at Dorian Sparta: the earliest temple of Artemis Orthia, which is similar in date and style to that at Dreros in Crete, and the first imports of ivory, which come ultimately from Phoenicia.<sup>130</sup> As Demargne has shown,<sup>131</sup> Crete was the intermediary between Phoenicia and the southern Peloponnese from the ninth to the seventh century. In fact, this evidence points to two conclusions which are consistent with the early dating of the Lycurgean reform, namely the formation of Sparta itself as a state and the opening of contacts with Crete, whence the inspiration of the reform was derived. The subsequent development of Spartan art and music is closely linked with that of Crete and Rhodes in the eighth and seventh centuries, and its acme in art covers the period from 700 to 550 B.C., after which decline sets in gradually as it did also in the case of Corinth and had already done in the case of Crete. For the centre of gravity in trade, in art, and in currency was moving northwards to Athens. Thus in so far as the break between a long period of stasis and the inauguration of settled conditions is to be traced in the archaeological evidence, it occurs in the late ninth century and it points to a derivation from Crete.

We have already seen good reason to accept the literary tradition that the Lycurgean reform was modelled on the institutions of Crete. Now those institutions were created for the city-state proper in Crete and they continued to operate for centuries in the numerous Dorian city-states, of which some fifty are known by name.<sup>132</sup> It is reasonable to see in the Lycurgean reform the corresponding creation of the Spartan city-state from the five independent villages in the late ninth century. But the ultimate development of Crete and of Laconia differed widely: Crete remained a disunited aggregate of city-states, a *ἑκατόμπολις* in the words of Homer, but Laconia, which was also originally a *ἑκατόμπολις*,<sup>133</sup> became united into the Lacedaemonian state under the hegemony of Sparta. This all-important development cannot have been consummated during the long period of stasis; it must have followed the creation of the Spartan city-state, and have fallen therefore in the period between 800 and 730 B.C. if the latter year is taken to mark the beginning of the First Messenian War. The reduction of the numerous Dorian communities of Laconia, which were each autonomous and independent in

<sup>123</sup> CR XLIX (1935) 185.

<sup>124</sup> Buschor *AM* LII (1927) 12. Desborough *BSA* XLIII (1948) 267 notes the wide gulf between the latest local Mycenaean and the Protogeometric style at Amyclae.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.* and Dawkins *Artemis Orthia* 19, 49, 62.

<sup>126</sup> *AO* 62.

<sup>127</sup> *AO* 18. The small percentage of slipless pottery at the Artemisium may represent the earliest period of occupation, contemporary with that of the Acropolis and of Amyclae.

<sup>128</sup> *AO* 54, 62; *AM* 14.

<sup>129</sup> Lane *BSA* XXXIV 99 f.

<sup>130</sup> *AO* 19. 'It is not likely that any great error will be made if it (the archaic altar), and the early temple with it, are assigned to a date earlier than 800 B.C.' *AO* 239, the oldest ivories being needles for applying kohl to the eyelids: 'they cannot be dated later than the 9th century B.C.'

<sup>131</sup> *La Crète Didalique* (1947); cf. Lane *loc. cit.* for possible influence of Crete and Thera on Laconian Geometric.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. Busolt *GG* I 338.

<sup>133</sup> Strabo 362, adding that in his own day the declining population lived in thirty *πολῖται*.



origin,<sup>134</sup> must have been the result of a gradual and long-lasting war of conquest. In this period the constitution of Sparta crystallised in its final form with the emergence of the Ephorate and the tightening of executive control. The fully-formed Lacedaemonian state turned next upon Messenia and doubled its basis of economic strength. By the end of the eighth century Sparta was firmly in control of Laconia and Messenia. In the spheres of art and trade the greatest age of Sparta ensued from 700 to 550 B.C.

The conclusions of this paper may seem strange to those who place the end of the Dark Age at about 600 B.C. The origin of this view is to be found in the predominance of the Attic tradition in Greek history, for until the late seventh century Athens was a minor power in the Greek world. Archaeology has, however, opened the new vistas of Daedalic Crete, Proto-Corinthian art, and Laconian pottery, and has tended to confirm the Thucydidean chronology for the colonisation of the West.<sup>135</sup> We now realise that by the early sixth century several states had passed or were passing their acme in the development of art and culture; Chalcis, Eretria, Crete, and even Corinth and Sparta were approaching the first stages of a declining power in the creative fields of colonisation and art. The great achievements of the late eighth and of the seventh centuries were the results of settled conditions in these states.<sup>136</sup> Thus Corinth before the colonisation of Syracuse in 734 B.C. and Megara before the colonisation of Megara Hyblaea in 728 B.C. had become settled states in the same sense that Sparta had become a πόλις. The traditions of their early composition form an interesting analogy to the case of Sparta: οἱ δὲ (φασιν) ὅτι Ἀλήτης κατὰ χρησμόν τοὺς Κορινθίους συνοικίζων ὀκτῶ φυλάς ἐποίησε τοὺς πολίτας καὶ ὀκτῶ μέρη τὴν πόλιν (Suidas s.v. πάντα ὀκτῶ) and τὸ παλαιὸν ἡ Μεγαρίς ὠκεῖτο κατὰ κώμας, εἰς πέντε μέρη νευρημένων τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ Ἡραεῖς καὶ Πιραεῖς καὶ Μεγαρεῖς καὶ Κυνοσουρεῖς καὶ Τριποδισκαῖοι (Plut. *GQ* 17).<sup>137</sup> It may well be that the formation of these two states fell in the early eighth century, being near successors in time to the reform at Sparta. Both, however, were still based on racial kinship and on aristocratic government; at a later time they passed through the stages of tyranny and of stasis which Lycurgus had averted from Sparta.

The late ninth century has a further contribution to make—the art of writing of which the origin was Phoenicia and of which the earliest examples occur at Crete, Thera, and Melos.<sup>138</sup> Sparta had close contacts with these islands. It may be that the original Rhetra was a written document of the late ninth century, preserved among the μαντεῖα of the Spartan state, which Herodotus VI 57 tells us were in the keeping of the kings and of the Pythii.<sup>139</sup> It may even be that the influence of Phoenicia affected wider spheres than those of art, letters, and trade. For the similarity of the constitution and of the social system of Carthage with those of Crete and Sparta<sup>140</sup> may not have been fortuitous. It is perhaps significant of an inter-relation between them that Carthage was traditionally founded in the latter part of the ninth century.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> The cities of the Perioeci are styled πόλεις by Hdt. VII 234, Xen. *Hell.* VI 5, 21 etc.; their independence dated from the pre-Lycurgetan period presumably, cf. Isoc. *Panath.* 176 f. That the bulk of them were Dorian is implied in the legends of the conquest and settlement of Laconia and is stated by Thuc. VII 57, 6 in the case of Cythera. The tradition in Plut. *Lyc.* VIII that the Perioeci held their land by ὀρεῖς, although misapplied in the context, may reflect a historical fact, that their system of land-tenure was Dorian in character. The tradition that the towns of Laconia were reduced after the Lycurgetan reform appears in Paus. III 5-7.

<sup>135</sup> Dunbabin *The Western Greeks* 435 f.

<sup>136</sup> Thuc. I 12, 4 μόλις τε ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ ἡσυχάσασα ἡ Ἑλλὰς βεβόλαιος καὶ οὐκέτι ἀνισταμένη ἀποικίας ἐξίτηται.

<sup>137</sup> That these were divisions of Dorian Corinth and of Dorian Megara and that they had constitutional applications is clear from the ὀκτώεις at Corinth after the fall of the

tyranny (Nic. Damasc. fr. 60) and from the five strategoi and five demiourgoi at Megara.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. Demargne *op. cit.* 148 for a summary of recent views on this controversial issue.

<sup>139</sup> A term echoed in Plut. *Lyc.* VI, describing the Great Rhetra as μαντεῖον . . . ἣν ῥήτραν καλοῦσιν, in Tyrtacus IIIb μαντεῖας and in Isyllus Et 5 τοὺς Φοῖβον χρησμούς οὓς μαντευσάμενος παρέταξε πόλιν Λυκούργος. Plut. 1116 F states that the Lacedaemonians preserved the oracle concerning Lycurgus ἐν τοῖς παλαιότατοις ἀναγραφαῖς. The earliest records at Delphi were written on skins (Eur. fr. 629).

<sup>140</sup> Arist. *Pol.* 1272b mentioning the sussitia as well as the constitution. It is possible that the former survived into the Roman period, cf. Livy XXXIV 61 in *circulis convivisque*.

<sup>141</sup> No reference has been possible to Chrimis' *Ancient Sparta* (1949) which was published when this article was in page-proof.



## PLATO AND THE 'APXH KAKΩN

COOK WILSON remarks that one of the chief doctrines of the *Timaeus* 'relates to the existence of evil . . . all cosmogonies which attribute the world to some divine activity find a difficulty here. Some assume another spirit, an evil one, though partly subordinate to the good one; others, to avoid making an evil spiritual principle, assume an unintelligent matter, or in general some form of Necessity beside the Good Spirit. We should suppose that Plato, if not monist, would incline to the latter and should have thought he clearly adopted it in the *Timaeus*.'<sup>1</sup> In *Laws* X, 'soul' is the cause of evil as of good. So Plato says one thing at one time, another at another. But his interpreters do not like to admit this. Professor Cornford found the spiritual view of evil lurking in the *Timaeus* too. Mr. Vlastos<sup>2</sup> and lately the R  v. P  re Festug  re,<sup>3</sup> though they differ about the meaning of *Laws* X, agree that for Plato the κακοποιόν is always matter. I think that we should not try too hard to smooth over the discrepancies in what Plato says about evil. They call attention to something obscure, perhaps incoherent, in his metaphysical thinking.

Cornford reads the *Timaeus* with the help of *Laws* X. 'Irrational and merely necessary motions and changes, with casual and undesigned results, actually occur in nature at all times, as well as those which are subservient to rational ends . . . And since, on Platonic principles, all physical motion must be due to a living soul, I do not see how to escape the conclusion that the World-Soul is not completely rational.'<sup>4</sup> There is no trace of a Devil in the *Timaeus*; the source of evil must be the World-Soul itself, that is to say, if Plato always assumes that ψυχή is the ἀρχή κινήσεως. But to a reader coming fresh to the *Timaeus*, unbiased by recollections of any other dialogue, τὸ σωματoειδές is the κακοποιόν. The *Timaeus* accounts for evil in terms of a contest between Reason and Necessity, the struggle of a workman with materials that are recalcitrant, that limit his purposes, and make perfection unattainable even by God. These are the Forms, Space and γένεσις. ὃν τε καὶ χώραν καὶ γένεσιν εἶναι, τρία τριχῆ, καὶ πρὶν οὐρανὸν γενέσθαι. (52d.)

For the most part the Divine Workman's difficulties are a hackneyed theme. He is making a copy of the world of Forms in which not all Forms 'combine'; their want of κοινωνία will be reflected in the product; all conceivable advantages will not be realised. Then Plato assumes that embodiment involves a certain degradation for the Form. He is not saying that the Potter's hand shakes, rather that the very being of a particular thing is imperfection, for the ἀπειρον element in the mixture keeps it from being a perfect instance of the Form. Χώρα is the ἀπειρον here, Plato's matter.<sup>5</sup> For Plato a material thing is a region of space in which causal properties are manifested.<sup>6</sup> What properties a thing will have depends on its spatial configuration, and the διακόσμησις is simply the delimitation of these regions within the original ἀπειρον, whose nature the Demiurge must accept and make the most of.

Γένεσις is more mysterious. Here it is not the sensible world, for that is the product of the διακόσμησις, not a prerequisite.<sup>7</sup> I take it to be the same as κίνησις in *Laws* X, and I shall use the word κίνησις by preference, assuming it covers coming-into-being, motion, and

<sup>1</sup> *Statement and Inference* II, 867.

<sup>2</sup> *CQ* XXXIII, 71 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Rev. de philologie*, XXI.

<sup>4</sup> *Plato's Cosmology*, 209-10.

<sup>5</sup> We must distinguish the matter which is equivalent to ὅλη from the Workman's materials, of which χώρα is one, and from the material world, the product.

<sup>6</sup> That is, the physical object is a fiction; the fact that causal properties are manifested in a certain region of space is an ultimate fact. The objection is that if a region has causal properties, it is a substance and not a region. (Perhaps this is the real cause of Taylor's reluctance to call χώρα

matter. *A Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, 347.) On the other hand, the contents of the receptacle, the δαιμόνια καὶ ἐξιδότα τῶν ὄντων δεῖ μυσήματα (50c), might suggest sensibilia. Is it possible that Plato's Heracliteanism is an anticipation of the Event Theory of Continuance (see e.g., *Theaetetus* 157bc), and that he regards the material thing as a continuous stream of sensuously qualified particulars which come into being apart from any observer? On this view πάντα ἔει has a plain meaning, and the objectionable substratum of change is even more thoroughly eradicated than by the generally accepted Aristotelian interpretation.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Tim.* 27d f.



change of all kinds.<sup>8</sup> In the state of chaos space is a receptacle filled with strange contents, εἰσιόντα καὶ ἐξιόντα τῶν ὄντων αἰετὶ μὴ μῦστα (50c), in ceaseless change and motion. Questions can be asked about the cause of their coming-into-being; they must have some shape and some colour, and if νοῦς is responsible for πέρας wherever it is found, νοῦς is already at work in chaos. But we need not pursue these anomalies. Whatever we may think of the time-question,<sup>9</sup> we must agree with Cornford that the description of chaos will not bear close inspection, but it is particularly obvious that change and motion in chaos make nonsense. (It would require a continuity of being these 'contents' cannot have.) For all that, Plato's intention is plain—to declare that κίνησις in all its forms is an ἀπειρον, waiting to be given order by the Demiurge.

Νοῦς struggles to subdue ἀνάγκη.<sup>10</sup> The Demiurge does his best with these materials and succeeds on the whole, but to some extent they resist, and the evil of the world is simply this element of disorder that survives from chaos. So matter, τὸ σωματοειδές, is the κακοποιόν.<sup>11</sup>

But this simple interpretation is often questioned. Professor Cornford thinks we can dig deeper.

As we have seen, in the *Timaeus* κίνησις is represented as something 'given'; it has no origin, any more than the Forms or Space.<sup>12</sup> But Cornford is sure that the thought that ψυχή is ἀρχὴ κινήσεως was constantly present to Plato's mind, as much in the *Timaeus* as in the *Phaedrus* and the *Laws*.<sup>13</sup> Apart from 46c which echoes at least the words in which the ἀρχὴ κινήσεως argument is expressed elsewhere, Cornford can point to the earlier part of the dialogue where the world is called a ζῷον with a soul, and there is a faint suggestion that the soul is responsible for its movement. When God shaped the world's body, 'he caused it to turn about uniformly in the same place and within its own limits and made it revolve round and round' (34a), but when the World-Soul is inwoven, I think it is implied that the Soul is responsible for the motion.<sup>14</sup> In Plato's scheme this revolution of the world as a whole is the physical counterpart of the mental movement of the Same,<sup>15</sup> while the movement of the Different is imparted to the planets (36cd). With it Plato comes nearest to making the World-Soul the cosmic ἀρχὴ κινήσεως, but he nowhere represents it as the ultimate cause of all events in the comprehensive sense required by *Laws* X. Nothing is said to connect ψυχή with the other κινήσεις of all kinds within the world. In the central part of the *Timaeus* describing the struggle of Reason with Necessity, there is not the smallest hint that ψυχή is responsible for κίνησις. It may be replied that this is the myth of νοῦς δημιουργός and, to νοῦς, κίνησις is 'given'; that Plato

<sup>8</sup> Both γίγναι and κινῆναι have a wider and a narrower meaning. In the *Timaeus* γίγναι includes κινῆναι = locomotion. In *Laws* X κίνησις includes γίγναι = coming-to-be. (See also *Parm.* 155e-156b and Cornford, *Plato and Parmenides*, 197.)

<sup>9</sup> Mr. Vlastos argues that we should be satisfied to accept Aristotle's statement that Plato thought time γιγνέσθαι (251b 17), on the ground that he thought of it in terms of circular movement, which is a feature of cosmos, not chaos. (*CQ* XXXIII, 73-77. Cf. Cornford, *op. cit.*, p. 103.) Chaos is not a world already in existence before God intervenes. The materials of creation are not the sort of entities that exist in time; Plato is hard put to it to describe the odd kind of being Space has, timeless like the οὐσία of the Forms, but far less 'real' (*Tim.* 52a-c), while there can be no κίνησις in the absence of all order. But we can deny that chaos existed before creation, without asserting like Cornford that there never was a moment of creation (p. 37). Some philosophers find a meaning in the idea of continuous creation, but the Design argument need not be so understood. The First-Cause argument requires a beginning. Plato has not given us a satisfactory theory of time, but he clearly implies in the *Timaeus* that it is not infinite. We do best to take him at his word.

<sup>10</sup> 'Necessity' is a name for τὸ σωματοειδές, more precisely for the causal powers of matter, for the αἰτία, ὅσαι μοσχεύονται φρονήσεως τὸ τυχὸν ἄτακτον βέλτοτε ἐξεργάζονται (46c). Professor Dodds writes, 'In the *Timaeus*, however, besides these physical συνάμματα which are popularly but falsely described as causes, we meet also with a real cause which is non-rational—the πλανώμενη αἰτία, or Errant

Cause, alias "Necessity," which shares with Mind the responsibility for the constitution of the Universe.' (*JHS* LXV, 20). I think the συνάμματα of 46cd are causes, though never the sole sufficient causes of any event in the material world—Plato remarks δοξάζεται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πλείστων οὐ συνάμματα ἀλλὰ αἰτία εἶναι τῶν πάντων because he does not want us to forget the teleological action of νοῦς—and I think that ἀνάγκη does not stand for anything distinct from these συνάμματα. When they are described in 46c as 'pushed by other things and pushing a third lot of things ἐξ ἀνάγκης', the phrase refers to that mysterious bond for which Hume professed he had looked in vain; it is sometimes called 'enforcement.' The words ὅσαι μοσχεύονται φρονήσεως τὸ τυχὸν ἄτακτον βέλτοτε ἐξεργάζονται (46c) forbid us to interpret Necessity in terms of Regularity of Sequence or natural law. Any order in the world is the work of νοῦς. 'Necessity in Plato was the very antithesis of natural law' (Cornford, *Plato's Cosmology*, 171). What we mean by natural law was expressed by Plato in terms of order.

<sup>11</sup> κακοποιόν but not κακόν. See Robin *La Théorie Platonicienne des Idées et des Nombres*, 573-80.

<sup>12</sup> ἀσφαλότης is the condition of κίνησις, not the ἀρχή. (57e, with 58c and 57a. Cf. Vlastos, *CQ* XXXIII, 80.)

<sup>13</sup> 'Since no bodily changes can occur without the self-motion of soul, the other factor present in this chaos must be irrational motions of the World-Soul, considered in abstraction from the ordered revolutions of Reason' (*op. cit.* 205).

<sup>14</sup> This motion is surely inconceivable, but see Cornford *op. cit.*, 82, n. 1.

<sup>15</sup> See 36c and 37a-c and Cornford's *Tables of Celestial Motions*, *op. cit.*, 136.



need not account for its origin while the artistic shape into which he had cast his work made it awkward to do so. I think we shall find a reason why we should not assume what Plato has so carefully not said. Aristotle did not think the *Timaeus* uniform with the *Laws* in this respect or assume that it is impossible that Plato should change his tune.<sup>16</sup> His παναρμόνιος ψυχή is not likely to rest content for ever with the same idea. It may be that even within the one dialogue his doctrine is not entirely homogeneous.

Cornford, who assumes that the immanent World-Soul is the ἀρχὴ κινήσεως, inclines to the view that νοῦς δημιουργός is simply the rational element in this World-Soul, for ever trying to impose discipline on the vagaries of its 'lower self.' He searches for indications of this conflict.

Qua 'mental motions' of the World-Soul, the Circles of the Same and the Different, for all we are told, have a purely cognitive function. The Different is responsible for true judgments and beliefs about the sensible; ὅταν δὲ αὐτὸ περὶ τὸ λογιστικόν (λόγος) ἦ καὶ ὁ τοῦ ταύτου κύκλος εὐτροχος ὦν αὐτὰ μηνύσῃ, νοῦς ἐπιστήμη τε ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀποτελεῖται (37bc).<sup>17</sup> But Cornford makes the Same 'rational' and the Different 'irrational' in a questionable sense. He argues that, since the Different (in its physical aspect) 'is associated with the planets and the Wandering Cause (πλανωμένη αἰτία), the possibility remains that the World-Soul is not wholly rational' (p. 76). The planets are set in the circuits in which the revolution of the Different was moving (38c), but their 'wanderings' are only apparent,<sup>18</sup> and as far as I can follow Cornford's explanation, involve no interruption in the revolution of the Different. There is no decisive evidence here for 'a semi-rational element of innate impulse.'

Again, referring to 34a, Cornford says that 'the six irrational motions do occur in nature' and argues that 'since all physical motions are ultimately caused by the self-moving soul, this passage supports the view that the World-Soul has an element of unreason and, like our own souls, is not perfectly controlled by the divine reason it contains' (p. 57).<sup>19</sup> The new-born baby, when it 'comes to be without intelligence at first,' moves with these six motions. But Mr. Vlastos remarks with justice that 'the analogy with the infant soul, apposite as it is, is unfortunate for Professor Cornford's hypothesis. It does not tell us how an irrational soul originates irrational motions, but how irrational motions throw out of gear the infant's soul.'<sup>20</sup> It is made clear in 43a-44a that τὸ σωματοειδές is to blame.

In order to cause the two physical motions specifically assigned to it, the World-Soul must be more than a mere thinking thing. But we are left to make this bare inference ourselves. Though it is an embodied soul, nothing is said to suggest that it is not λογιστικόν all through. In contrast the human soul is given parts that will conflict. To make it, the Gods got from the Demiurge an immortal principle of soul (ἀρχὴν ψυχῆς ἀθάνατον) similar to the World-Soul, and 'for a vehicle gave it the body as a whole and built round another form of soul, the mortal, ἄλλο τε εἶδος ἐν αὐτῷ ψυχῆς προσωκοδόμουν τὸ θνητόν, δεινὰ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἐν ἑαυτῷ παθήματα ἔχον (69cd). 42ac and 89e refer to the old tripartite division. Are we meant to argue from microcosm to macrocosm? But it is clear that the World-Soul has no such parts 'built on.'

Yet it is a σύνθετον, put together from the intermediate kinds of Existence, Sameness, and Difference, and M. Robin has argued that 35a indicates that its unity is precarious. καὶ τρία λαβὼν αὐτὰ ὄντα συνεκεράσατο εἰς μίαν πάντα ἰδέαν, τὴν θατέρου φύσιν δύσμεικτον οὖσαν εἰς ταῦτόν συναρμόττων βίαν. He fixes on δύσμεικτον. 'Ce qui arrive, c'est que l'Ame du monde, qui a été faite aussi bonne que possible, mais dans laquelle, comme dit le Timée (35a),

<sup>16</sup> ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ Πλάτωνι γε οἷόν τε λέγειν ἦν οἷον εἶναι ἀρχὴν εἶναι, τὸ αὐτὸ ἑαυτοῦ κινεῖν. ὅστιρον γὰρ καὶ ἀμα τῷ ὁρατῷ ἢ ψυχῇ, ὡς φησὶν (1071 b 37). The reason suggested for Plato's silence is not satisfactory. If 'earlier' and 'later' have any temporal meaning, the World-Soul is older than its body. (34bc.)

<sup>17</sup> τὸ λογιστικόν here = αὐτὸ τὸ νοητόν. (See Cornford, *op. cit.* 95 n. 3.)

<sup>18</sup> i.e., according to the science of Plato's time. (*Tim.* 39c, 40b and *Laws* 822a.)

<sup>19</sup> 'Six irrational motions' is misleading, for they are

irrational only in the odd sense that they are not axial rotation—τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν περὶ νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν μάλιστα οὖσαν (34a). Again in *Laws* 897c κυκλοφορία is the physical εἶδος of νοῦ κινήσις. But the other six motions need not want τάξις. (In *Tim.* 43ab they have none because νοῦς is not operative in infancy.) The *Laws* suggests that the impulse to aesthetic activity is the pleasure we get from the perception of τάξις, i.e., pattern, in all kinds of κινήσις (see *Laws* 653d. Cf. *Ar. Problemata* 920 b 33.)

<sup>20</sup> *op. cit.*, 78.



l'Autre ne s'est laissé accommoder au Même que sous la contrainte, cesse de se rappeler "l'enseignement qu'elle a reçu de l'Ouvrier qui fut son père" (*Pol.* 273b): le cercle de l'Autre prétend tourner à sa guise sans obéir au cercle du Même, et il se produit alors dans l'Ame du monde des perversions analogues à celles que les passions produisent dans nos âmes.<sup>21</sup> But there are stages in its making. In 35a the intermediate kinds of Existence, Sameness, and Difference are mixed; then from this mixture what are called the Circles of the Same and the Different are *both* made (36c), so that any difficulty of mixing in 35a, however serious, cannot explain why the Circle of the Different should give trouble, while the Same turns peaceably on its course.<sup>22</sup>

I am inclined to think that δύσμεικτον is a casual comment let slip without any deep design. In *Sophist* 255e f., the Same mixes with the Different in the sense that everything is the same as itself and different from other things, but on another occasion Plato might well call the Same and the Different δύσμεικτα. The word has no echo in the rest of the *Timaeus*.

Certainly the construction M. Robin puts upon it is not borne out by the behaviour of the World-Soul. A merely potential discord will not account for the actual evil in the world, and there is no suggestion anywhere that the World-Soul is divided against itself, no hint of these 'perversions,' and as Mr. Vlastos says, 'Of irrational motions in the World-Soul we know nothing in the *Timaeus*.'<sup>23</sup> This silence is surprising if M. Robin and Cornford are right.<sup>24</sup> Of course the description of the World-Soul is mythical, but it is reasonable to expect that their interpretation, if it is the true one, should be reflected in the details of the myth.

Then the theological situation is extraordinary if evil springs from a conflict between parts of the Divine World-Soul. The victory of νοῦς is admittedly incomplete, which must mean on this view that νοῦς has only partial success in making its 'lower self' see reason. But it is one thing to allow that God is not omnipotent, another to maintain that the cause of divine weakness lies within. Is God, like man, betrayed by what is false within? If Plato is preaching so startling a doctrine, why does he not speak out more plainly?<sup>25</sup> Cornford should explain Plato's silence. Theology apart, the dramatic interest of the struggle would be heightened if it were a conflict within the Divine World-Soul.

In the *Timaeus* there is no question of two souls at strife. Even if we do not accept Cornford's view that νοῦς δημιουργός is a mere hypostatisation of reason in the World-Soul, still the World-Soul seems very much the creature of the Demiurge, a submissive creature never in rebellion against its Creator. It corresponds, if anything, to the Good Soul of *Laws* X, not the Bad. Read without prejudice, the *Timaeus* gives no support to the view that evil has a spiritual origin. For all the skill that Cornford employs to draw forth this idea from the *Timaeus*, we see that it is not there—but a different idea, that evil comes from matter. Professor Dodds says that Plato blames 'the Irrational.'<sup>26</sup> But we have seen that on Plato's view a

<sup>21</sup> *Platon*, 228.

<sup>22</sup> M. Robin may connect the Different with change and even disorder on the more general ground that he equates the Different with 'l'illimité' (p. 156.) He argues that Forms, as well as particulars, are mixtures of πέρας and ἀπειρον. 'Toute Idée est, comme le disait Aristote, un mixte déterminé d'Un et d'Infini: l'infinité de l'Autre limitée par l'unité du Même' (p. 152.) Is the Different to be identified with the Indeterminate Dyad? I venture no opinion on so difficult a question. But the Different cannot be a very subversive element if it is present in every Form, when Forms are notoriously changeless.

<sup>23</sup> *op. cit.*, 78.

<sup>24</sup> M. Robin assumes that the rebellion of the World-Soul against the Demiurge in the *Politeia* has a parallel in the *Timaeus*. It is true that the Same is given supremacy over the Different in *Tim.* 36c, where the κέντρος has an astronomical significance, but there is not the smallest hint that this supremacy is ever threatened in the World-Soul. In the infant human soul it is, but not really by the rebellion of the Different. καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐν τῷ παρόντι πλείστην καὶ μάλιστα παρεχόμενα κίνησιν, μετὰ τοῦ βίοντος ἐνδολογῶς ὁμοῦ καὶ

καὶ σφοδρῶς αἰεῖσαι τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς περιόδους, τὴν μὲν ταύτου παντάπασιν ἐπιδῆσαν ἐναντία αὐτῇ βίονσαι καὶ ἐπὶ σκοπὸν ἀρχουσιν καὶ ἰούσαι, τὴν δ' αὖ θαρρέον διόμισαν . . . . . (43cd, Cf. 44a) Matter is to blame. Even in the *Politeia* the material view of evil is fundamental. (See Vlastos *op. cit.*, 80.) The World-Soul grows forgetful and careless—τούτων δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ σωματικὸν τῆς ἀνγκράτης αἶτιον (273b).

According to M. Robin the responsibility for evil falls on the World-Soul but in his view the World-Soul is not God (*Platon*, 229).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. p. 72 *infra*.

<sup>26</sup> Professor Dodds thinks primarily of the contrast between Reason and the Passions. When he turns 'from Plato's view of man to his view of Nature,' he suggests that Plato 'has projected into his conception of Nature that stubborn irrationality which he was more and more compelled to admit in man' (*op. cit.*, 21). Plato may have grown more despondent over human nature, but recognition of the sordid element in the world is not in itself a proof of pessimism. If you choose to describe the world in the Pythagorean πέρας ἀπειρον language, you cannot have one term without the other.



surd-element is present in the world independently of any mind, human or divine. Matter is essentially *ἄλογον*. A mindless universe would be irrational in this sense.

Of course, it is useless to pretend that the activities of *νοῦς* and its relation to the World-Soul are perfectly comprehensible. When Plato warns us that we shall not understand his myth of creation, it is obviously rash to assign a literal meaning to each part of the complex symbol and expect that by combining these meanings we shall construct a theory a philosopher will accept or reject on strictly philosophic grounds.<sup>27</sup> The most we can hope to do is to seize the main ideas it illustrates. Cornford takes the World-Soul very seriously, on the ground that for Plato it is 'literally true' that the world is a *ζῷον*<sup>28</sup> and suggests that the Demiurge may be an element within that soul. I shall try to show that this reading involves difficulties that make it seem unlikely that Plato wished the myth to be understood in this way. And I suggest that Cornford has allowed too much weight to considerations that are not native, or at least not central, to the *Timaeus*, and so obscured the main theme.

That theme was set by Anaxagoras—*νοῦν πάντα διακοσμεῖν*. Order in the world is the work of divine *πρόνοια*. The *Timaeus* might be called a dramatised version of the Argument from Design—only the Demiurge is not the Architect of the world; he does not plan, but execute, making a copy of *αὐτὸ τὸ ζῷον*. The argument is not stated in the *Timaeus*. We do not find Plato 'proving *a priori* both that order is from its own nature inseparable from thought, and that it can never, of itself, or from some unknown principle, belong to matter.'<sup>29</sup> In other dialogues there are many indications of a *συγγένεια* between *νοῦς* and *τάξις*. For example in *Philebus* 26e–39d *νοῦς* is the efficient cause of every mixture in which *πέρας* is united with *ἄπειρον*, while in 65a–66b *νοῦς* is said to have a special affinity with the formal elements responsible for the goodness of the mixture. This conviction that intelligence is linked with order and value has its roots in metaphysical depths which are not plumbed by the *Timaeus*. In 30a Plato says simply that God being good, and desiring all things to be good, brought cosmos out of chaos.

No one would dispute that this is the message of the *Timaeus*.<sup>30</sup> But what of the suggestion that the benevolent Intelligence is simply an element in the World-Soul? It is only a suggestion—Cornford points out the danger of dogmatism—but still he regards it as based on a certainty. For, in his view, one thing is certain and the rest is lies—the world is an animal. Hume says this notion was 'common to almost all the theists of antiquity.' 'For though sometimes the ancient philosophers reason from final causes, as if they thought the world the workmanship of God: yet it appears rather their favourite notion to consider it as his body whose organisation renders it subservient to him.'<sup>31</sup> In the *Timaeus* the word *ζῷον* is used without much apology. Plato does not try to show that the world has the unity peculiar to an organism. Plato says perfunctorily that nothing has such value as *νοῦς*, and *νοῦς* cannot exist apart from *ψυχή*; so God made the world a *ζῷον* (30ab).<sup>32</sup> What is at the back of his mind is the thought of the world as an animal that can move itself. In his *History of Western Philosophy* Lord Russell has some interesting remarks on the imaginative background of Aristotle's physical theories. He explains how 'animals have lost their importance in our imaginative picture of the world'; how 'to the modern man of science the body of an animal is a very elaborate machine,' while 'to the Greek it seemed more natural to assimilate apparently lifeless motions to those of animals.'<sup>33</sup> Plato shows the same tendency, but not continuously, as we have seen.<sup>34</sup> Hume was right

<sup>27</sup> It is surely misleading to suggest that the notion of scientific probability is applicable to a metaphysical theory. Cf. Vlastos, *op. cit.*, pp. 71–3.

<sup>28</sup> See Cornford, *Plato's Cosmology*, 34, n. 1. He assumes that in 30b τῇ ἀληθείᾳ stamps the *ζῷον* language as literal truth, whereas the rest of the sentence διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γένεσιν πρόνοιαν is 'myth.'

<sup>29</sup> Hume, *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*, 224.

<sup>30</sup> Unless those who regard the Demiurge as a symbol for the Form of the Good or who identify Forms with Minds (see p. 72, n. 49). In spite of 50d, I assume that *νοῦς δημιουργός* is not a Form.

<sup>31</sup> *op. cit.*, 211.

<sup>32</sup> Cornford has to add—'Of course it is not *made*; it is an

eternal animal.' With some *malice* Hume had remarked that, if you say the world is an animal, you more or less have to say it arose from generation. 'Plato, too, so far as he is intelligible, seems to have adopted some such idea in his *Timaeus*.'

<sup>33</sup> *A History of Western Philosophy*, 226–7.

<sup>34</sup> Consider the reasoning of *Laws* 895c or *Phaedrus* 245e. We easily imagine that the sight of an animal moving itself suggests the principle that *ψυχή* is the *ἀρχὴ κινήσεως*, and that Plato, having reached the general principle, should then on the strength of it feel justified in calling the world an animal. Yet as *Laws* 898c f. shows, he realised that it is not necessary that the soul which is the *ἀρχή* should be related to the body moved as our soul is to our body.



in saying that the ancient philosophers are torn between the Divine Animal view of the world and the Divine Workman—obviously the favourite notion in the *Timaeus*. Where the Divine Workman holds the stage, the idea of motion as the self-movement of an animal is suppressed; we have already seen how carefully Plato abstains from making the World-Soul responsible for κίνησις in chaos. The two notions are perhaps not compatible with one another.

I doubt if it is possible to treat νοῦς δημιουργός as a symbol for an element in the World-Soul. If it were, we should have to construe the διακόσμησις entirely in terms of the control a rational soul exercises over its body. In our case that is limited, to say the least of it, but νοῦς δημιουργός is supposed to be the source of whatever order is to be found throughout the world, unless in corners where other minds have been at work. Νοῦς brings the cosmos into being, that is, if Cornford is right, νοῦς makes its own body. If an organism can be said to make itself, the parallel is vague in the extreme. Of course, Aristotle would maintain that an organism owes its σύστασις, its organic unity, to the fact that it is animate, though not to πρόνοια on its own part.<sup>35</sup> But surely 'unconscious teleology' is Aristotelian, not Platonic at all. For Plato order is always the work of νοῦς acting with conscious purpose.

Accordingly in the *Timaeus* νοῦς is a Workman struggling with materials external to himself. Of course, we can think of our body as so much material for the exercise of τέχνη, but then we are treating it as an external object like any other, oblivious of the unique relation in which we stand to our own body. If Plato wished us to conceive of God's relation to the world after the fashion of our body-soul relation, why did he not say so plainly without introducing the misleading image of the workman? <sup>36</sup> The truth is that the teleological argument for the existence of God does not require immanence, and the designing intelligence does not need to have a body. I think that the *Timaeus* is best understood in terms of this argument, and that νοῦς is a transcendent intelligence.

The material view of evil accompanies the Divine Workman. When ψυχή comes to the fore as ἀρχή κινήσεως, the 'cause of all things' (*Laws* 896d), the spiritual view replaces the material. Is the spiritual view more positive? (The material view is privative of course; evil is a lack of order.) *Laws* X does not bear this out. The not very well defined ἀμαθία and ἀκρότης, in which moral evil consists according to *Laws* 863d (cf. 734b), suggest some evolution in Plato's ethics, but not so complete a break with the past. The material view says that disorder originates in matter, the spiritual, in mind. Thus far Plato's view of evil varies as νοῦς δημιουργός or ψυχή ἀρχή κινήσεως predominates.

Those who disdain the Divine Workman as mere embroidery take the ψυχή ἀρχή κινήσεως principle very seriously, as indeed it deserves. (It is the parent of Aristotle's Unmoved Mover which inspired the First-Cause argument, which was refined by Leibniz into the cosmological argument.) According to Mr. Vlastos it has little or no significance apart from the Design argument of the *Timaeus*. 'The proposition that the soul is πρῶτον γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς αἴτιον (*Laws* 891c) merely denotes the supremacy of the soul's teleological action within the created universe.'<sup>37</sup> But the two arguments, starting from different premises, are logically distinct, and we cannot be sure that ψυχή ἀρχή κινήσεως is indistinguishable from νοῦς ὁ διακοσμών.<sup>38</sup> I think that Mr. Vlastos is mutilating the *Laws* to force conformity with the *Timaeus*. *Laws* X has something important of its own to say.

On the other hand, those who pin all their faith to the First-Cause argument sometimes

<sup>35</sup> 411 b 7.

<sup>36</sup> Philebus 30 a-c does suggest that the σωματικά and λογικά we apply to our own bodies will illustrate the activity of the cosmic νοῦς, but the argument is most obscure.

<sup>37</sup> *op. cit.*, 81. Mr. Vlastos asks, 'How much could Plato mean when he says that the soul is the cause of all becoming and perishing? At its face-value this asserts that the soul is itself the cause of the instability of becoming; that apart from soul reality would be untroubled by

transience. But this is grotesquely unPlatonic. When Plato does ask himself, "Is soul more akin to being or becoming?" he can only answer, "It is in every way more like being." (*Phaedon* 79c). Vlastos has surely forgotten *Sophist* 248e f. where change and life and soul are given a place in 'that which is perfectly real.'

<sup>38</sup> The Design argument is formally impeccable, if it does not insist on omniscience and omnipotence. The First-Cause argument is based on the false assumption that every series must have a first term.



suggest that *Laws* X will explain what is puzzling in the World-Soul of the *Timaeus*. Do they recognise what a vague account of ψυχή we are given?

In *Laws* 896e we are confronted with a surprising catalogue of actions and passions. For the First-Cause argument to have force, ψυχή must surely be an ἀρχή in the full sense. Plato is surely not saying that all these are absolute beginnings, having no cause. Unless by Existentialists such a claim is not made, except for acts of will. To be an ἀρχή, ψυχή must be first and foremost a will. We cannot pretend that this is what Plato is saying; it is what he ought to be saying. For fundamentally the argument of *Laws* X is 'the metaphysical argument from our own inalienable experience of ourselves as causes and voluntary agents to the conception of God as will and source of power.' If so 896e is rather misleading.

Again is the cosmic ἀρχή a single soul? In 896e 8 (as in d 10) ψυχή is undifferentiated 'soul' rather than 'a soul' or 'souls'—'mind,' as one might speak of 'mind and matter.' But in e4 the Athenian has raised the question of number. Μία ἢ πλείους; πλείους ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἀποκρινοῦμαι. Δυσὶν μὲν γέ που ἔλαττον μηδὲν τιθώμεν, τῆς τε εὐεργέτιδος καὶ τῆς τάναντία δυναμένης ἐξεργάζεσθαι (i.e., we are to assume for the purposes of argument not less than two.) But we see the motion of the οὐρανός is like 'the motion of reason.' ἀλλὰ ἐκ γε τῶν νῦν εἰρημένων οὐδ' ὅστιον ἄλλως λέγειν ἢ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἔχουσιν ψυχὴν μίαν ἢ πλείους περιάγειν αὐτά (898c). So we hear no more of a Bad Soul. It seems that Plato has raised the Devil only to lay him again.<sup>39</sup> He was not needed to explain the motion of the world as a whole. But what of disorder within the world? We must grapple somehow with the problem of evil. If *Laws* 896d is a serious statement and evil has a spiritual cause, it is caused either by a Bad Soul, or by discordant elements in the Good Soul.<sup>40</sup> That Plato should invoke a hypothetical Devil to explain hypothetical disorder in the motion of the world, affords a slight presumption that in this frame of mind he would choose to attribute the evil within the world to a Bad Soul. That is all we can say in defence of the Devil.<sup>41</sup> But no text in *Laws* X gives positive support to the alternative.

On the other hand, a Devil would prove an embarrassment if the Good Soul is thought of as animating the world. *Laws* X is not clear on the question of immanence. 896d—ψυχὴν δὴ διοικοῦσαν καὶ ἐνοικοῦσαν ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς πάντῃ κινουμένοις—might seem decisive, and in 895c it looks as if Plato is taking the world to be an animal self-moved by its soul, but immanence is not required by the ψυχὴ ἀρχὴ κινήσεως principle, and raises an obvious problem. (If all changes in the world are caused by conscious states of activities of its soul, the world is very unlike any other known animal.) In fact, it is after ψυχή is proved to be the ἀρχή that Plato asks whether the sun, for example, is driven round by a soul animating it as our soul animates its body, or whether soul pushes it from outside or moves it in some other way, without committing himself to an answer. The question is left open.<sup>42</sup> Presumably the same reasoning applies to the world as a whole. If so, the cosmic ἀρχή may be ψιλὴ σώματος like Aristotle's Unmoved Mover. But if the star-souls animate the star-bodies in the ordinary way, probably the Good Soul is immanent in the world. Then how will it tolerate a rival? A Pantheistic system may find room for star-souls—it must accommodate humanity somehow—but two cosmic ἀρχαί of comparable rank is another matter. I do not think that we can assume that Plato is saying that the world is animated either simultaneously or successively by a Good and a Bad Soul. It is easy to see why Professor Cornford dropped the Devil and chose the other

<sup>39</sup> Assuming that the existence of a Devil is definitely denied in *Pol.* 270a, and that the words δὸς τοῦ θεοῦ φρονούντις ἐαυτοῖς ἡμεῖς indicate a Good and a Bad Soul, this denial is irrelevant to our interpretation of the *Laws*, as the general attitude to evil is different in the two works. The *Politicus* takes the material view, the *Laws* the spiritual. (The R. P. Festugière traces above all in the *Politicus* 'une certaine influence du dualisme iranien,' with definite limits. *Rev. de philologie*, XXI 43-4.)

<sup>40</sup> Or by human souls. Perhaps this possibility should be considered.

<sup>41</sup> Professor Dodds will not take the Devil seriously on the

ground that 'the inferior soul has no more than a potentiality of evil, which it realises, as we are told further on (897b), only when "it associates with mindlessness".' (*JHS* LXV, 21 'Plato and the Irrational'). But in 897b3 ψυχή is not yet differentiated into souls good and bad. (See note 43.) We might as well say that the Good Soul is only potentially good.

<sup>42</sup> See *Laws* 898d-899b. The question of number is also left unsettled in the summing-up. Ἰσοῦς ψυχὴ μὲν ἡ ψυχαὶ πάντων τούτων αἰτίαι ἐφάνησαν, ἀγαθαὶ δὲ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν (899b5). It was not the number so much as the quality of souls that interested Plato.



form of the spiritual view of evil, which, however, is not stated in the *Laws*. There is no hint that the Good Soul contains any alloy.<sup>43</sup>

Thus the clear outlines of the ψυχή portrayed in *Laws* X on closer scrutiny dissolve in vagueness, and we feel less and less confident that it will help us to explain the *Timaeus*. Yet we want to see Plato's thought as one, if we can, and it is not easy to refrain from assimilating the Good Soul to the World-Soul, which, we have seen, Plato connects sometimes with κίνησις.<sup>44</sup> Then we are faced once more with the problem, How is the Principle of Motion related to the Principle of Order? <sup>45</sup>

Evil provides a touchstone for any scheme we construct.

Cornford's synthesis, in which νοῦς δημιουργός becomes reason within the World-Soul, has a clarity and consistency it seems senseless to mar, but it does make what is divine not wicked but weak, and largely responsible for the evil of the world. Plato would have been shocked. θεός οὐδ' αὖτις οὐδ' αὖτις ἄδικος, ἀλλ' ὡς οἶόν τε δικαιοτάτος.<sup>46</sup>

Cornford did prepare a line of retreat. Perhaps τὸ θεῖον, τὸ θεϊότατον rather, is not a mind at all. If the Demiurge represents an element in the World-Soul, 'the desire for goodness will then reside in the World-Soul: the universe will aspire towards the perfection of its model in the realm of Forms, and the model will hold a position analogous to that of Aristotle's Unmoved Mover, who causes motion as the object of desire.'<sup>47</sup> Αὐτὸ τὸ ζῶον is the *Etre Suprême*. But what corresponds to the Unmoved Mover in Plato's scheme of things is ψυχή itself, τὴν δυναμένην αὐτὴν αὐτὴν κινεῖν κίνησιν.<sup>48</sup> Cornford does not insist, but his suggestion reminds us of more radical interpretations which merge the Demiurge in a Form. Sooner or later we must ask ourselves, 'Is the Demiurge nothing but a symbol for the formal cause of order, the Good or the One?' There is no inconsistency in this supposition—only, if we adopt it, we must be ready to admit that the *Timaeus* does not explain how this world has come to be—not even in the limited sense in which the Design argument can explain the world. The Forms 'stand immutable in solemn aloofness.' Nothing will bridge the gulf between that world and this—unless we can be persuaded that the Forms are meant to be efficient causes.<sup>49</sup> There is not evidence to justify our foisting this paralogism on Plato. Of course, the *Phaedo* claimed too much for the Forms,<sup>50</sup> but the later dialogues demand a mind to account for the world. Sophist 248e, giving change, life, soul, understanding a place in 'Reality,' marks a step in self-criticism as decisive in its way as the beginning of the *Parmenides*. The *Philebus*, *Timaeus*, *Laws*, all make some mind an ἀρχή which is apparently ultimate. Yet the Good or the One is still for Plato the *ens realissimum*; all minds may somehow depend on it,<sup>51</sup> but Plato does not explain how this can be, and in the absence of an explanation from him, it seems we must accept mind as an ἀρχή, and count it divine.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>43</sup> In 897a 'soul' includes plenty of evil passions, but at once in b7, a division is made into souls of opposite quality. Πότερον οὖν δὴ ψυχῆς γένος . . . . . τὸ φρόνημον καὶ ἀρετῆς πλήρες, ἢ τὸ μηδέτερον κακῶς καὶ ἀρετῆς;

<sup>44</sup> See p. 66, *supra*.

<sup>45</sup> The *Laws* is not altogether silent about νοῦς τὸ πᾶν διακακοποιητικὸς (966e f.). It looks like an element in the Good Soul (898c). In 897b (νοῦν μὲν προσλαβοῦσα . . . . .) the meaning of νοῦς is fixed as 'reasonableness' by contrast with δυνεῖς, and ψυχή is not necessarily importing an ally from outside.

<sup>46</sup> *Theaetetus* 176b (*Rep.* 379c was more explicit).

<sup>47</sup> *Plato's Cosmology*, 39.

<sup>48</sup> *Laws* 896a.

<sup>49</sup> M. Robin says that Forms are minds. 'Quel est en effet dans la théologie de Platon le rôle du Démoniurge? C'est de conférer la réalité à un vivant qui soit l'image d'un autre vivant. Il isole donc mythiquement le pouvoir causal des Idées, l'efficacité génératrice qui appartient aux réalités du monde intelligible à la fois formelles et vivantes' (*Platon*, 248). On the next page, 'le Démoniurge symboliserait donc l'Intellect contemplant l'Intelligible et en organisant une copie . . . .' (249.) For a clue we turn to M. Robin's interpretation of *Sophist* 248e. 'Comment l'Etre "qui est totalement être," qui est à la fois l'être et le tout,

pourrait-il ne pas posséder l'Intellect? . . . En les rapprochant de ce morceau du Sophiste, on est incliné à considérer en effet le monde idéal comme un intellect dans laquelle chaque pensée est un être ou chaque être une pensée et qui possède vie et activité.' (p. 154.) 'Enfin, si l'Etre "totalement" ou "absolument existant," dont il est question dans le Sophiste (248e sqq.) est la même chose que le Bien et si le Bien est la même chose que Dieu, ou réciproquement, on ne s'étonnera plus alors que Platon ait justement attribué à cette plénitude de l'Etre la vie, l'âme et l'Intellect, c'est à dire la plus haute personnalité.' (251.)

<sup>50</sup> See Cornford, *Plato and Parmenides*, 79 n. 1. Aristotle's criticism is a fair inference from the *Phaedo*, but I think that Plato saw he had claimed too much and withdrew. (Cf. Robin, *La Théorie Platonicienne des Idées et des Nombres*, 88-92, 110-11, 106-14.)

<sup>51</sup> Brochard maintained that νοῦς δημιουργός, Plato's God, is a 'mélange d'Idées,' subordinate to a superior principle. (*Études de Philosophie Ancienne*, 95-8.)

<sup>52</sup> Diès sums up the ambiguous position. 'Ainsi, pour la pensée platonicienne, on peut et l'on doit dire que l'Intellect est Dieu, mais que l'Etre est plus divin que l'Intellect, parce que l'Etre ou le divin est la source à laquelle Dieu lui-même participe. La pensée philosophique est restée,



But 'in the divine there is no shadow of unrighteousness, only the perfection of righteousness.' 'Si Dieu se définit comme la cause de l'ordre, il ne peut donc à aucun titre être cause de désordre.'<sup>53</sup> The Rév. Père Festugière, who agrees in the main with Cornford—he thinks that νοῦς is not distinct from the World-Soul, the ἀρχὴ κινήσεως, 'le vrai Dieu du Timée'<sup>54</sup>—takes a different view of evil. He blames matter. Does he mean χώρα, or the Divine Workman's materials in general?

(A) If matter is χώρα simply, Plato's ὕλη,<sup>55</sup> what of disorderly κίνησις? Can we make χώρα entirely responsible by arguing that the κίνησις in the external world with which we are concerned here, is always an event in space, and that the surd-element that Plato sees in every particular is introduced by χώρα? Then the World-Soul is the cause of κίνησις,<sup>56</sup> but not of its ἀταξία. (On the other hand, κίνησις *qua* 'mental motion' can be ἀτακτος too. And in his version of the material view Plato himself distributes the blame more widely.)

(B) Alternatively 'matter' means all the materials of creation, and κίνησις is itself an ἀπειρον. The distinction between A and B seems tenuous, perhaps artificial, yet the theological consequences are not trifling. If the World-Soul causes κίνησις, and κίνησις is an ἀπειρον, and evil consists in the absence of order, then the World-Soul shares in the responsibility for evil. Perhaps 'responsibility' is too moral a word; we might refuse to say more than that the World-Soul initiates κίνησις in the world, treating it as a cosmic force rather than a personality. Still it *is* the cause, the αἴτιον. If he chooses this line of thought, I do not think that the Rév. Père Festugière succeeds in vindicating Plato's God—if the World-Soul is God.

But what if the World-Soul is only a lesser spirit? The *Timaeus* gives the impression that νοῦς is a transcendent intelligence which makes the World-Soul, and whatever 'making' means, it suggests some kind of subordination.<sup>57</sup> As the principle of Order, withdrawn from the world in this way, God may be freed from all responsibility for evil. Then if we are bent on synthesis we may assume that the World-Soul is the cause of κίνησις, and still trace evil to the recalcitrance of the Workman's materials. For God, κίνησις is so much material. The World-Soul is partly responsible, but God is absolved. θεὸς ἀνάτιος.

Thus the spiritual and material views are reconciled, or rather something is conceded to each, but the compromise leaves us uneasy. Our construction is very obviously a pastiche. The fact that the World-Soul is made by νοῦς is disquieting. As we said, the making indicates at least some kind of dependence—what, is not easy to say. (Professor Hackforth quotes Proclus—εἰ ἄρα δεῖ τὸ πᾶν ἐννοῦν γενέσθαι, δεῖ καὶ ψυχῆς ὑποδοχὴ γάρ ἐστιν αὕτη τοῦ νοῦ, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ὁ νοῦς ἐμφαίνεται τοῖς ὄγκοις τοῦ παντός . . . .<sup>58</sup> But Proclus does not help us greatly.) The notion of a spiritual hierarchy is not obviously unPlatonic. In Plato and Aristotle the tendency towards monotheism is visible but by no means triumphant. (I have assumed that Plato uses ὁ θεός to indicate the highest among divine minds, and I think it likely that this God is dependent on the Good or the One.) It is strange, however, that the cosmic ἀρχὴ κινήσεως should be placed in a position of inferiority to any mind whatsoever. If we explain this by Plato's prejudice in favour of the changeless, another difficulty threatens. Νοῦς is not merely a 'mental motion'; it brings order to an external world. Even if its priority is not temporal, νοῦς might challenge the claim of the World-Soul to be First Cause.

Our scheme may include more of what Plato actually says, but it cannot give so simple

depuis Xénophane, profondément hostile à tout anthropomorphisme. Elle ne peut créer l'intelligence et le monde sans faire appel à quelque chose de vivant qui tend, quoi qu'elle fasse, vers la personnalité humaine et vers des modes humains de penser et d'agir. Mais elle se protège contre ce danger en accentuant toujours davantage l'immuable et impassible impersonnalité de l'Être, et, pour elle, des vocables masculins comme ὁ νοῦς, ὁ θεός, ne sont que secondaires et dérivés par rapport aux vocables neutres, τὸ ὄν, τὸ οἶον. (*Autour de Platon*, 564.)

<sup>53</sup> Festugière, *Rev. de philologie* XXI, 41.

<sup>54</sup> *op. cit.*, 20.

<sup>55</sup> See note 5.

<sup>56</sup> Festugière calls χώρα 'une possibilité de mutation'

(p. 34), but the World-Soul is the ἀρχὴ (p. 39).

<sup>57</sup> Professor Hackforth takes this to mean that the soul is a γένεσις, not a thing created in time, but one whose being depends on something more ultimate. (*CQ* XXX, 5) This doctrine will not suit with *Laws* X. There ψυχὴ ἀρχὴ κινήσεως is itself the cause of becoming and perishing of all things. It is not made dependent on νοῦς. Hackforth tries to explain away Plato's silence on this point by arguing that, in the *Laws*, 'his object is to lay down the necessary minimum of philosophical doctrine required for a sound basis of religion and morality.'

<sup>58</sup> Proclus, In *Tim.* I p. 40 2 (Diehl). See Hackforth, *op. cit.*, 8, n. 1.



an account of the relation between νοῦς δημιουργός and ψυχὴ ἀρχὴ κινήσεως as Cornford's.<sup>59</sup> If we are determined to bring them together, we might do better to adopt his general view, stifling our doubts about the immanence of νοῦς, and replace his view of evil, which proved a stumbling-block, by the suggestion that evil is caused by matter in the sense of χώρα.

But perhaps the two are best apart. The obscurities that surround each are not dispelled by attempts to unite them. We cannot help wishing to make a system of Plato's thought, but we must regard any proposed combination with suspicion and ask if it is wise to impose a unity whose form is not clearly indicated by Plato himself. Except in the most superficial way he has not brought the two together; in fact, he drew them apart. In the beginning πάντα χρήματα ἦν ὁμοῦ, for Anaxagoras had announced in his cryptic way that νοῦς gave order to the world and set it in motion. Plato seized on these suggestions and followed each separately where it led him. He had learned the lesson that Socrates taught—that we must follow wherever the λόγος leads, pursuing each line of reasoning to its own conclusion, and prepared to discard anything that seemed satisfactory before if it will not agree with the new idea. For the most part Plato thinks in this truly philosophic spirit.

The *Timaeus* myth brings the Divine Workman and the Divine Animal together, but the combination is fanciful, not reasoned. Our first impulse was sound, to take the *Timaeus* as a picturesque presentment of teleological metaphysics, complete enough within its limits, and assume that while the World-Soul has its place in the story, philosophically speaking its relation to the Divine Workman will not bear scrutiny.

If Plato ever reached the stage of synthesis and made a system out of his ideas περὶ τὰ θεῖα, he did not record it for us. We get no help from outside; Aristotle never mentions Plato's God. After all we possess only enigmatic fragments of his thought. It is only fair to remember this when we are tempted to agree with Bayle. 'Vous croirez peut-être qu'un Platonicien qui donnoit à Dieu une nature incorporelle auroit mis à bout facilement les sectateurs de Straton; mais ne vous fiez trop à cela, car en 1. lieu la doctrine Platonique touchant la divinité n'est pas uniforme dans les oeuvres de Platon: on y trouve tant de choses qui se combattent les unes les autres, qu'on ne sait à quoi s'en tenir. 2. Ce n'est qu'un tissu de suppositions arbitraires qu'il debite magistralement sans les prouver. 3. Il est si obscur qu'il rebute tous les esprits qui ne cherchent que la lumière'.<sup>60</sup> Bayle is severe, but not altogether unjust. There is no entity that we can call 'Plato's theology.'

M. MELDRUM.

<sup>59</sup> The *Timaeus* is against the hypothesis that νοῦς and ψυχὴ form one transcendent mind. But ψυχὴ need not be immanent, as Plato admits in *Laces* 89Bc f., so the single

transcendent mind is a possible development of Plato's thought.

<sup>60</sup> *Continuation des Pensées diverses*. (CVI p. 508).



## NOTES

**The Battle of Tanagra.**—The account given by Thucydides (I. 107. 2–108. 2) of the Spartan expedition to Central Greece that culminated in the battle of Tanagra is not entirely satisfactory.<sup>1</sup> The main problem that arises out of it may be put in the form of a question: why did the Spartans need such a large force, namely 1,500 hoplites 'ἐκὺντων' with 10,000 more 'τῶν συμμάχων', merely for the purpose of coercing the Phocians? It is not, I think, an unreasonable criticism to say that the aim and strength of the expedition, as given by Thucydides, seem quite out of proportion, and most modern historians have found it difficult to accept his account in full. The problem has usually been solved by assuming that the Spartans had an ulterior motive, namely the re-establishment of a strong Thebes as a check to Athens.<sup>2</sup> But a careful reading of Thucydides should make it quite clear that he at any rate knew nothing of any ulterior motive. For at the beginning of his account he gives the Spartans' desire to protect the people of Doris as the sole motive for the expedition. Then, he goes on, after dealing with the Phocians the Spartans started out on the homeward journey ('ἀπεχώρουσι πάλιν'). But finding that they were cut off by the arrival of an Athenian squadron in the gulf of Corinth, while the land route was already blocked because of the Athenians' control of the Megarid, 'they decided to remain in Boeotia and consider what was the safest way for them to get home'. The Athenians thereupon marched into Boeotian territory to oppose them, and the result was the battle at Tanagra. This account, I think, makes it sufficiently plain that in Thucydides' opinion the battle of Tanagra was entirely the result of an Athenian attempt to trap the Spartan expeditionary force, and that if left to themselves the Spartans would have gone straight home after dealing with the Phocians. Thus the usual answer to the problem involves a serious departure from Thucydides' account of the affair. But in addition this theory of an ulterior move directed by Sparta against Athens does not fit in at all well with what is known of Spartan policy during this period. For it is remarkable that throughout the fifteen years of the First Peloponnesian War Spartan activity against Athens was almost nil, in spite of many attacks on members of her confederacy, the complete subjugation of at least one of them, Aegina,<sup>3</sup> and several raids on her own territory: apart from the Tanagra campaign, the only positive action taken by the Spartans themselves was the rather half-hearted invasion of Attica led by Pleistoanax in 446. It is beyond the scope of this note to consider the reasons for this inactivity on the part of Sparta, but the fact that they were so little active at this time gives very good grounds for believing Thucydides' account of the original cause of the campaign under consideration.

Consequently the usual solution of the problem does not seem at all satisfactory. There is, however, another possible solution. It has generally been assumed that the whole of the force of 10,000 allies mentioned by Thucydides came from the Peloponnese, since Diodorus in his account of the campaign (XI. 79), which follows the version of Thucydides very closely, gives the same figures for the strength of the original expedition but substitutes 'τῶν ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων' for the Thucydidean phrase 'τῶν συμμάχων'. But this assumption raises two difficult

questions, one of which must be answered adequately if this assumption is to be considered valid:

(a) If the 11,500 troops mentioned by Thucydides all came from the Peloponnese, and if that figure represents the total force that fought on the Spartan side at Tanagra, why did none of the Boeotians take part in the battle (which was fought on their territory, and against their inveterate enemy, Athens), and how was it that the Athenians, after heavy losses in the battle,<sup>4</sup> could inflict such a decisive defeat on a Boeotian army presumably fresh and at full strength only nine weeks later at Oenophyta?

(b) If on the other hand the Boeotians did take part in the battle (and there is some evidence that they did), how did the Athenians with a very mixed army of 14,000 contrive to fight what was very nearly a drawn battle against 11,500 Peloponnesians reinforced by anything up to 7,000 Boeotians,<sup>5</sup> and that too in spite of the defection of the Thessalian cavalry in the middle of the battle?

If no adequate answer can be given to either of these questions, and I do not think it is possible to give one, the basic assumption must be invalid.

The answer to the problem, I would like to suggest, may be found if it is assumed that the 10,000 Spartan allies at Tanagra really included a considerable force of Boeotians, an assumption that immediately removes all the difficulties that have just been discussed. As it happens there is some slight evidence for the presence of Boeotian troops at Tanagra in Pausanias (I. 29. 9) and the Platonic 'First Alcibiades' (112c). This is admittedly not evidence on which too much reliance should be placed. Pausanias' statements can be used only with the greatest circumspection, and, although the 'First Alcibiades' is most probably a product of Plato's school and written during the fourth century,<sup>6</sup> it is only fair to assume that his pupils were as liable to error as Plato himself, whose references to the history of the fifth century are by no means entirely reliable. Nevertheless a late authority is not necessarily incorrect; and since in the present case the evidence of Pausanias and 'Plato' fits in so well with the probabilities of the situation, it would be very rash to reject it without careful consideration. The only evidence to the contrary, if we assume that Thucydides' phrase can be interpreted either way, is the statement of Diodorus that has already been quoted. But this can very easily be explained as nothing more than an inference derived from a too casual reading of Thucydides' account, and in any case it is difficult to claim that the unsupported testimony of Diodorus is really more reliable than that of Pausanias and 'Plato'.

But the assumption that the phrase 'τῶν συμμάχων' in Thucydides' account can be interpreted either way has been challenged on the ground that he regularly uses the words 'οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι' in the sense of the general levy of the Peloponnesian League.<sup>7</sup> It is of course quite true that Thucydides often uses the phrase with this particular significance. But examples can be found of the same words being used without any special significance (e.g., II. 66. 1), and in any case it is worth noting that in the passage under discussion he carefully avoids using the normal formula. Consequently it is not easy to see why the word 'σύμμαχοι' in this passage should necessarily be interpreted as meaning 'Peloponnesian allies'. Furthermore, in case it should be objected that

<sup>1</sup> I would like to take this opportunity to express my thanks to Prof. Wade-Gery for his assistance and encouragement in the early stages of the preparation of this note.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., Walker in *CAH* V chap. 3 pp. 79–80.

<sup>3</sup> The Spartan failure to make any attempt to assist Aegina is all the more noteworthy in view of the help Aegina had given only a few years before at the time of the Helot revolt, help that was gratefully remembered in 431 (Thuc. II. 27. 2).

<sup>4</sup> καὶ φόνος ἐγένετο ἀμφοτέρων πολὺς (Thuc. I. 108. 1).

<sup>5</sup> The number of Boeotian hoplites at Delium in 424 (Thuc. IV. 93. 3).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. A. E. Taylor *Plato* 12–13.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. e.g., Gomme, *Commentary on Thucydides*, Bk. I, 313–14.



the Boeotians cannot fairly be called 'allies' of Sparta at this date, it should be remembered that, according to Diodorus (XI. 81. 2-3), in the course of the Tanagra campaign the Spartans restored Thebes to its old position of supremacy in Boeotia. If this is correct, and there is no reason why it should not be right, this restoration to power may well have involved membership of the Spartan confederation and therefore the duty of supplying troops.

The conclusion therefore is surely that there is no real objection to acceptance of the evidence of Pausanias and 'Plato'. On the basis of this evidence it may be suggested that the course of the campaign was more or less as follows:

(a) The first stage was that a small force of 1,500 Spartans and perhaps four or five thousand other Peloponnesians crossed the gulf of Corinth and dealt successfully with the Phocians.

(b) Finding their retreat cut off both by land and sea the Spartans moved into Boeotia, re-established the power of Thebes, as stated by Diodorus, and were reinforced by a contingent of Boeotian troops, making their numbers up to the figures recorded by Thucydides.

(c) After the battle the Peloponnesian contingent went off home via the Isthmus, leaving a rather battered Boeotian army to be soundly defeated by the Athenians soon after at Oenophyta.<sup>7</sup>

In support of this interpretation I would point out that in the first place it agrees rather better with the general trend of Spartan policy at this period, and secondly that it makes much more comprehensible not only the reluctance of the Spartans to force a way home via the Isthmus but also the rather daring attempt of the Athenians to isolate the expedition in Central Greece. It is of course quite true that this interpretation also does involve a departure from Thucydides' account, as it assumes that he has referred to the beginning of the campaign figures for the Spartan force that were true only at the time of the actual battle.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless it seems to me that this is a considerably smaller departure than the one involved by the usual theory, which attributes to the Spartans underlying motives of which there is not the slightest hint in Thucydides' text. If his account cannot be accepted as it stands, it seems to me that the account here given is the most natural and satisfactory one. In conclusion, it must be pointed out that, if this interpretation of the Tanagra campaign is correct, it removes all the force of the main historical argument for Krüger's proposed emendation of the text of Thucydides I. 103, to make the fall of Ithome happen 'πρὶν τῇ' instead of 'ἐκείνῃ', as given by all the MSS. This, however, is a problem which requires more discussion than is possible at the moment, and I hope to be able to consider it in detail on some future occasion.

D. W. REECE.

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**Pericles Monarchos.**—In a lecture on the *Working of the Athenian Democracy* delivered to the Hellenic Society at Burlington House on 3 May, 1949, Professor A. W. Gomme attacked the view 'that *πομπή* or principate describes with sufficient accuracy, not only Pericles' actual position, but Herodotus' and Thucydides' conceptions of it'.<sup>1</sup> To the word *πομπή* Gomme attached the meaning of absolute rule, typified in fifth-century thought, and in Herodotus, by the Persian kingship: by 'principate' he meant the direct, single rule of an Augustus. To both he drew the parallel of modern dictatorship in a totalitarian

state. Since he cited me as subscribing to this view in its most extreme form, in so far as I approved<sup>2</sup> of E. M. Walker's remarks on the *strategia* in the *Cambridge Ancient History*<sup>3</sup> and took Darius' arguments in favour of a monarchy for Persia in Herodotus iii 80-2 as 'Herodotus' own justification for Pericles' unique position at Athens',<sup>4</sup> I feel that I should make some reply; and am grateful to the editor of the *Journal* for this opportunity of doing so. I am also grateful to Professor Gomme for letting me consult his MS. so that I have been able to take up the point with him on a surer foundation than that of memory, and have had the privilege of a second acquaintance with a brilliant lecture.

What I said, in fact, was this: 'The growth in importance of the board of generals and in particular the virtual domination of Athenian public life by Pericles during the twenty years which preceded the Archidamian war had led to a new theory of the principle of government. The Cleisthenic theory had been that the city's will would be done if an indiscriminate selection of the equal people ruled in turn. On the new theory, the people, still holding the supreme power in its hands, is advised and led by the men who are most suited for leadership by talent and position.<sup>5</sup> The theory is certainly undemocratic in the Cleisthenic sense; but it would be rash to say that the people was any less powerful under Pericles than it was before: it was rather that the means of exercise of popular power had changed, either to meet new conditions or because the Cleisthenic theory had proved unsatisfactory in practice.' I hold this statement to be essentially a true one, even if one phrase, at least, is obscure and misleading. By saying that the new theory was 'undemocratic in the Cleisthenic sense' I meant that it was democratic but not in the Cleisthenic sense: I did not mean that it was really undemocratic and regarded Pericles as a tyrant or as an aristocratic or oligarchic ruler. In fact, we know well, Pericles was none of these. The new theory arose to explain an actual situation, the ascendancy of Pericles in a democratic state. He was not an aristocratic ruler, like some of Pindar's patrons. The Cleisthenic constitution, with its election of the archons by vote and its powerful Areopagus, was more aristocratic than the Periclean. Indeed, to the next generation the Cleisthenic constitution seemed an aristocracy.<sup>6</sup> Neither was Pericles a tyrant like Peisistratus. To assert that Pericles' position could be accurately described as a *πομπή* or principate would be rather more misleading than to say that Churchill's or Roosevelt's position during the last war could accurately have been described as a dictatorship. But, at the same time, if we can gauge the spirit of the Cleisthenic democracy from the device of ostracism which, according to Ephorus, Theopompus and Aristotle was originally designed to check *ἐμπόχῃ*,<sup>7</sup> the ascendancy of Pericles must be regarded as clean contrary to that spirit. Such a development was a modification in the practice of democracy produced by the special circumstances of the time. Churchill's war premiership and Roosevelt's war presidency are close analogies.

Gomme's second point was that Herodotus and Thucydides could not have thought of Pericles' position in terms of a *πομπή* or principate. I had proceeded to assert that the debate in the third book of Herodotus 'is plainly designed to lay the Athenian public by the ears; it dramatizes the constitutional struggle which was being fought out at Athens in the first decade of the second half of the fifth century between the supporters of the Cleisthenic democracy, the oligarchical party under the leadership of Thucydides the son of Melesias, and the supporters of Pericles'. The ground for this assertion was the remarkable similarity in terminology between the descriptions of

<sup>1</sup> For a similar case of a Spartan commander leaving his allies in the lurch cf. the action of Menecleus after the battle of Olpae (Thuc. III. 109-111).

<sup>2</sup> Athenian tradition was much more likely to have good information on the Spartan strength in the actual battle than about their original numbers when they first left the Peloponnese.

<sup>3</sup> Gomme's words.

<sup>4</sup> C.Q. XXXV 1941: p. 11 ff.

<sup>5</sup> iv 155-6.

<sup>6</sup> Gomme's words.

<sup>7</sup> *Ἀθ.* i. 3.

<sup>8</sup> See Plut. *Cim.* 15: τὴν ἐν Κλεισθέει ἐνέειπεν ἀριστοκρατίαν. Also Busolt *Gr. Gesch.* II<sup>2</sup> 430 n. 1.

<sup>9</sup> See Sandys on Arist. *Const. of Ath.* 22. 1. The principle of rotation in office had the same intention.



democracy\* and oligarchy\* in Herodotus and current political phraseology at Athens; and the striking way in which the *monarchos* is described: nothing could be better than the one best man, who, being best also in intellectual ability, 'would be a blameless guardian of the people's interest'<sup>10</sup> and whose head would be the safest repository of the plans for the defeat of the city's enemies. . . . Democracy (of the kind described) leads not to rivalry in the practice of virtue but to conspiracy in the practice of wickedness: τοῦτο δὲ τοιοῦτο γίνεται ἐς ὃ ἂν προστάς τις τοῦ δήμου τοὺς τοιούτους παύσῃ· ἐκ δὲ αὐτῶν θαυμάζεται οὗτος δὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, θαυμάζομενος δ' ἂν' ὧν ἐφάνη μονάρχος εἶναι. In the interpretation of this passage lies the point at issue between Gomme and myself. He regards the language attributed to Darius by Herodotus as 'proper to the rise of tyranny in Greece'.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand it seems likely to me that Herodotus, in telling this story, made use of arguments that he had heard used in Athens for and against the ascendancy of Pericles, and that although he knew well enough that Pericles' leadership was in fact quite different from an eastern despotism the word *μονάρχος* gave the cue for his topical digression. Gomme argued that the ideas connected with the words *μονάρχος* and *μοναρχία* were so utterly different from those on which Pericles' ascendancy was based that he could never have used the terms if he had been thinking of Pericles. But *μονάρχος* is the most colourless of all the words for 'ruler'.<sup>12</sup> Admittedly, in most cases it is used of an absolute ruler; but if Herodotus was speaking in parables, words which were suitable enough in the apparent context of the Persian story might surely hint at an ascendancy of which Thucydides could say: 'ἐγγινετό τε λόγῳ μὲν δημοκρατία, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρός ἀρχή'. This hint would be all the more easily taken if Pericles' enemies had referred to him as *μονάρχος*. Gomme admitted that 'people talked loosely of Roosevelt, during the war, as dictator almost in the same breath in which they spoke of Hitler and Mussolini'. It is not difficult to imagine similar loose talk about Pericles. There was certainly talk of *μοναρχία* in 422, at the moment when Alcibiades was embarking upon his career.<sup>13</sup>

In proof of his point that Herodotus could not have hinted at Pericles with the word *μονάρχος* Gomme quoted a number of passages<sup>14</sup> witnessing the conventional contrast between Greek republic and Persian, or absolute, monarchy. Such a contrast was undoubtedly drawn. But it is equally clear from the literature of the fifth century that the age wrestled with another, and perhaps subtler, problem: how personal leadership was to be reconciled with democratic institutions. Thus there is the contrast of the good monarch with the tyrant. Creon in the *Antigone* and Oedipus in the *Oedipus Rex* become tyrants before our eyes, after an initial appearance as beneficent rulers; and illustrate the corruption of power. In the *Supplices* Euripides presents a solution to the problem. There Theseus, who is described as 'a young and noble shepherd,

for the want of which many cities have perished lacking a leader', rules a democratic city.<sup>15</sup> Euripides' solution lies in the Periclean type of personal ascendancy, where the people have the power, but in fact do what their 'shepherd' wants. In the debate of Theseus with the Theban herald this constitution is placed in the strongest possible contrast with tyranny. The play is, I think, a parable in which Theseus figures the Periclean ruler, and its message a lesson which the Athenians needed to be taught, that such a ruler was indeed different from a tyrant. The theory of the Periclean ruler may have been brought out again in 421 in connexion with the début of Alcibiades, and was the sort of anti-democratic, intellectualist, propaganda to provoke the epithets of Aristophanes' chorus in the previous year: 'ὦ μισόδημος καὶ μοναρχίος ἑραστά'. A similar use, or misuse, of terms is probable in the 'forties, when with Pericles, as with Pompey after 70 B.C., 'there was developing the rule of the first man'. That a principate never actually took shape at Athens was due partly, as Gomme so clearly pointed out, to the resolute spirit of the Athenian democrats; but partly also to the weakness of the Athenian aristocracy, which bred for that hour no Caesar, but an Alcibiades.

J. S. MORRISON.

My difference with Professor Morrison can, I think, be best expressed as follows. (1) In Herodotus' debate there is no compromise between democracy and monarchy (any more than between either of these and oligarchy), no comfortable Polybian mixture of good elements. Otanes especially is quite uncompromising: ἑοὶ βούλει ἴνα μὲν ἡμεῶν μονάρχον μὴκέτι γινώσκω· οὔτε γὰρ ἡβῶ οὔτε ἀγαθόν . . . πλήθος δὲ ἄρχον . . . τούτων τῶν ὁ μονάρχος ποιεῖ οὐδὲν, and so throughout. The *monarchos* is autocrat or nothing. And the remarks of Megabyxos and Dareios on democracy remind one of the Old Oligarch, no friend to Perikles. (2) Although I agree of course that it is Greek thought and not Persian that informs the debate, it is not for nothing that it is Dareios, the best of *monarchoi*, who defends *monarchia*; that is, at this stage Herodotus has the Persian monarchy in mind. And (3), in as much as it is Greek experience, not Persian, that is behind Dareios' description of the failures of oligarchy and democracy that lead inevitably to *monarchia*, it is Greek experience of the rise of *tyranny*—ἐς ἔχθρα μεγάλα ἀλλήλοισι ἀπαύονται, ἐς ὧν στάσεις ἐγγίγνυνται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν στασιῶν φόνοι, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ φόνου ἀπίθῃ ἐς μοναρχίην; and from democracy, τοῦτο δὲ τοιοῦτο γίνεται ἐς ὃ ἂν προστάς τις τοῦ δήμου τοὺς τοιούτους παύσῃ· ἐκ δὲ αὐτῶν θαυμάζεται οὗτος δὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, θαυμάζομενος δὲ ἂν' ὧν ἐφάνη μονάρχος εἶναι. The enemies of Perikles likened him to Peisistratos and his power to a tyranny; but was Herodotus among these enemies? (Alcibiades might have read the last sentence quoted above as his justification for 'aiming at a tyranny'). And not Peisistratos, but other Herodotean tyrants are in some measure like the oriental *monarchos*, Kleisthenes of Sikyon (compare him with Croesus) and Polykrates: does Herodotus wish to suggest that Perikles was like either of these? More particularly since he was a wise man and knew that Xerxes was as much a *monarchos*-type as Dareios.

A. W. GOMME.

\* ἰσονομίην, πάλω μὲν ἀρχὰς ἄρχαι, ὑπεύθυνον δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔχει βουλευμένα διὰ πάντα ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀναφέρει.

\* ἡμῖς δὲ ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπιλέξαντες ὁμιλίην τούτοις περιθέομεν τὸ κράτος· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τούτοις καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιστάμεθα, ἀρίστων δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἰκὸς ἀρίστα βουλευμένα γίνεσθαι.

<sup>10</sup> ἐπιτροπέοις ἂν ἀνωμήτως τοῦ πλήθους.

<sup>11</sup> I quote here not from the lecture but from a subsequent letter and cf. Theognis 52: Colon 10, 3.

<sup>12</sup> See the view of T. J. Dunbabin *The Western Greeks* p. 385. In Plato *Politicus* 291e *monarchia* embraces both βασιλική and τυραννική.

<sup>13</sup> Aristophanes *Wasps* 474.

<sup>14</sup> Aesch. *Perseus* 241-3, Soph. *Antig.* 736-7, Hdt. viii 24, Thuc. ii 37, Eurip. *Supplices* 404-8.

<sup>15</sup> Note 403 ff.

οὐ γὰρ ἀρχεται  
ἐνὸς πρὸς ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' ἐλευθέρα πόλις  
δῆμος δ' ἀνάσσει διαδοχαῖσιν ἐν μέρει  
ἐπιστάσιον . . .  
and again 349 ff.  
βόει δὲ χρῆζω καὶ πόλει πάσῃ τόδε.  
βόει δ' ἑμοῦ βίλοισι· ἀλλὰ τοῦ λόγου  
προσδοῖς ἴχειν' ἂν δῆμον ἐμμεύσῃσιν.  
καὶ γὰρ κατέστησ' αὐτὸν ἐς μοναρχίαν  
ἐλευθερώσας τῆςδ' ἰσότητος πόλιν.



## NOTICES OF BOOKS

### **The Year's Work in Classical Studies, 1939-1945.**

Edited for the Classical Journals Board by G. B. A. FLETCHER. Pp. xv + 203. Bristol: J. W. Arrow-smith, 1948. 10s.

This volume of 'The Year's Work' consists of chapters on Greek Literature, by Dr. P. Maas; on Latin Literature, by Professor G. B. A. Fletcher; on Greek History, by Professor F. W. Walbank; on Roman History, by Dr. H. H. Scullard; on Greek and Roman Religion, by Professor H. J. Rose; on Ancient Philosophy, by Professor Dorothy Tarrant; on Greek Archaeology, by Mr. T. J. Dunbabin; and on Italian Archaeology, by Professor A. W. Van Buren.

One cannot but admire at the outset both the learned world as a whole for its vigorous activity throughout so difficult a period, and the contributors to this volume for their industry in collecting the results of that activity. Beyond doubt there is much material here that scholars will be eagerly seeking.

But they will not find the search altogether easy. The book suffers from a fundamental conflict between matter and form. A bibliography of this kind is by nature a catalogue, and to attempt to present it as continuous prose is to make it obscure without making it readable. Some of the contributors have coped more successfully with this problem than others, but there are too many strings of sentences like 'A. writes about so-and-so. B. writes about something else.' In such passages attempts to relieve the monotony by verbal variation are merely irritating. Moreover, when the whole is written continuously, nothing stands out on the page; in the chapter on Latin Literature we are not even favoured with a new paragraph for each new author. The reader's task is made harder still by the separation from the main body of the text of the references, which are given all together at the end of each chapter. The inconvenience thus caused is only partly mitigated by the presence of an index.

It is greatly increased by the lack of uniformity among the various contributors. Dr. Maas confines himself to 'first editions' and new critical editions, but Professor Fletcher covers all work dealing with Latin Literature. Some contributors mention reviews in the main body of the text; others in the notes at the end of the chapter, where the references are given. Some are more ready than others to express opinions (and expressions of opinion confined to single, unsupported epithets should surely be suppressed).

We badly need a general introductory chapter. The first paragraph of Professor Rose's chapter, on the difficulties under which scholars worked during the war, would have been an admirable opening for the whole work; and such an introduction could also have dealt with P. W. and other works of reference equally relevant to all chapters. As it is, such works are mentioned by some contributors and omitted by others.

The general standard of accuracy is high, and there are few misprints. Occasionally notes are misplaced or duplicated; for example, articles on Aristotle, 'Αθ. πολ., are not relevant to Ancient Philosophy, and one of the articles listed on p. 145 has already been more fully summarised on p. 65 in the chapter on Greek History, where it belongs.

D. MERVYN JONES.

**La religion de Platon.** By V. GOLDSCHMIDT. Pp. xi + 158. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949. 200 fr.

An integrated study of Plato's religion is achieved, within the compass of this small book, at some inevitable expense to detailed exposition and to adequate recognition of change and development in his thought. Thus the divine nature is found expressed equally in the Forms, the Good, the Artificer of the *Timaeus* and also the star-gods, and in the deities of the city in the *Laos*. The unexplained causality of the Forms and the creative action of the Artificer are

brought together under the formula of 'procession,' a concept avowedly (p. 60) borrowed from Plotinus and not 'explicitly' used by Plato. The Theory of Forms itself appears to be regarded as fixed in its earlier aspect; thus (p. 59) 'every Form, even that of mud or of hair, derives its value from the Good.' The term *valetur* (as with Burnet's use of 'meaning') is an abstraction difficult to reconcile with the absolute existence of the Forms, which elsewhere our author recognises and upholds. More consistency proves possible in dealing with the antinomy between God and 'necessity,' both in the creative process in the *Timaeus* and in the element of coercion operating in the religion of the *Laos*. In studying Plato's theory of the human soul, the facts of free will and moral responsibility are underlined. But the belief in an endless series of lives is found (p. 112) incompatible with any 'irrevocable' act or decision; and this position is rather curiously connected with Plato's exclusion of tragedy, on the ground that no truly 'dramatic' element is possible in the soul's life. Other examples of over-synthesis might be cited, and they are not altogether to be excused by the small scale of the work. For all that, the book contains much that is valuable and suggestive on its great theme, and its very audacities are παραληρηματικά της διατριβής.

D. TARRANT.

**The Philosophy of Plato.** By G. C. FIELD. Pp. 219. London: Oxford University Press, 1949. 5s.

The main emphasis of Professor Field's short study of Plato is upon 'the re-statement of his thought in terms of our own experience' (p. 7). Such re-statement, in the light of modern concepts and problems, is made in a style admirably clear and simple. From this point of view the book fully justifies its place in the Home University Library series. But, even with the proviso of its title and special purpose, as a first introduction to Plato (and this, in effect, it surely will be for many readers) it is open to some criticisms. Space has not allowed of the giving of much background information; it is not always clear whether such knowledge is presupposed in the reader, or whether he is expected to follow up this primer by reference to the well-selected list of books that is appended. In any case Professor Field's repeated insistence upon the limitations of the dialogues as a clue to Plato's philosophic meaning, and in general upon the obscurities of the subject, is likely to prove discouraging to any beginner. While the greater part of the exposition is, of course, summary, allusions here and there to specific passages (sometimes as 'well-known') would be much more useful if the page-references were given. The author's chief omission is, it appears, a deliberate one, but none the less distorts his picture. Such references as occur to myth and allegory are in the spirit of the statement (p. 155) that for Plato 'myth and poetry were below, not above, reasoning.' This is, one supposes, the reason why in this introductory book there is not a mention of the similes of the Sun, the Line or (strangest omission of all) the Cave, or of any other of the great parables or allegories. After a brief and fair appraisal (p. 11) of Plato's literary power, this aspect of his work is in effect passed over, and neither humour nor characterisation nor any of his rich and varied imagery is recognised as contributing to his philosophic message. In the resulting atmosphere of prose the problems of his thought are discussed in as stimulating a way as the prevailing austerity will allow. But is this really Plato?

Some matters of detail may call for question, e.g. the disregard (p. 44) of any real distinction between the metaphors of 'participation' and 'imitation' as between Form and particular. On the side of metaphysics, the treatment of the *Timaeus* (pp. 126 ff.) is particularly valuable; on the side of politics, the masterly brief correlation (p. 204) between Plato's ideas and modern democracy.

D. TARRANT.



**Pindare et Platon (Philosophie ancienne, I).** By E. DES PLACES. Pp. 194. Paris: Beauchesne et ses Fils. 1949.

This book appears in the series *Bibliothèque des Archives de Philosophie*. It aims at establishing, by detailed study along parallel lines for each writer, a special affinity in thought and in style between Pindar and Plato. In the matter of political outlook, they are found to have comparable lack of sympathy with their native cities and similar ideals of statecraft and of kingship. In ethical principles, Plato, like Pindar, is credited with essentially Dorian attitudes. In religion, each refers human success to divine inspiration, each records deep spiritual experience, and each counsels reverence and worship to the gods in general and to Apollo in particular. The chief point of literary affinity is found to be their common love of visual imagery. Plato's quotations from Pindar are considered in detail, and a number of other passages are cited in which paraphrase of the poet may be more or less surely discovered. Even if these latter instances be admitted, it may be doubted whether the number of Plato's citations, compared with the far greater number he makes from Homer and with those from other poets, can be held to prove any very special sense of indebtedness to Pindar. The author pursues his theme through a mass of instances, on most of which he quotes and discusses the findings of other scholars. Some of this detailed exegesis (which is made more useful for reference by the appended list of passages cited from each writer) is at least as valuable as the general conclusions which are finally drawn.

D. TARRANT.

**Einführung in die alte Geschichte.** By HERMANN BENGTON. Pp. viii + 185. Munich: Biederstein Verlag, 1949. 211.

The extraordinary thing about this book is that it should not have been written till now. For the work is rare to which one can with such obvious truthfulness apply the overworked phrase that 'it satisfies a long-felt want.' Hitherto there has been no comprehensive book of reasonable compass, conforming to the standards of modern scholarship, which one could put into the hands of the enquiring student or graduate just embarking on independent work, who wishes to have a complete picture of the general framework, the methodology, and the significance of his subject. As a result, it is not unknown for the young scholar to involve himself in the details of a narrow theme or period without any real conception of its importance or how and where it fits into the whole.

For the German or German-reading scholar Dr. Bengtson has now provided a work of first-rate quality, which will not only furnish such a survey of content and method, but will also suggest lines of exploration and stimulate interest in some of the philosophical questions which an intensive concern with ancient history must sooner or later evoke. After a general discussion of how his subject is to be delimited in time, and geographically, and whether or no it is to be regarded as part of one universal history (Bengtson rightly argues with Ed. Meyer against Berve that it is), he treats in turn the sciences of chronology, geography, and anthropology in their relation to ancient history; the tradition and the sources, subdivided into primary documentary material, the ancient historians, and saga and popular and oral records; ancient monuments and what the historian can learn from them; the basic disciplines on which the historian increasingly relies, viz., epigraphy, papyrology, and numismatics; *Nachbarwissenschaften* such as mediaeval history, classical philology, oriental history, Byzantine studies, comparative philology, and Etruscology; and finally the scholar's tools—the great lexica, prosopographies, handbooks, journals, and learned periodicals or proceedings (the collections of inscriptions, papyri, etc., have already been signalised in their proper place). Each section ends with a selective bibliography, critically set out with explanations and occasional warnings; and at the end of the book nearly thirty pages of up-to-date book lists, arranged according to subjects, serve to direct any student along the shortest route to his place of work.

I should like to see an English version of this book. But a mere translation would not suffice, for it has been written

with the German student in mind, and quotes German works in preference to foreign where a choice is reasonable and necessary. An English version would not, for instance, omit reference to (and bibliography on) the two British *limites*, and it might discuss in slightly different terms the relationship between ancient history and the classics (though I should hope to see it reach the same conclusion that '*Die Alternative "Philologie oder Geschichte" . . . ist in Wahrheit gar nicht vorhanden*'). In particular, the sound and salutary paragraphs which analyse the role of *Rasse* and the nature of a *Volk*—'*Völker sind soziale Gruppen . . . Völker bilden sich, und Völker vergehen, und eben dieser Vorgang ist der Gegenstand der historischen Wissenschaft*'—might need some slight recasting simply on account of a difference in linguistic usage. Whereas *Volk* and *Nation* may be synonymous in German (p. 48), in using their equivalents English distinguishes clearly between the Welsh or Scottish *peoples* and the British *nation*. The distinction is not important here, and it does not in any important degree affect Bengtson's argument. I mention it merely as an illustration of the danger of confusion, and even more of anachronism, which may arise in the very framing of our questions, unless we employ the terms used by the Greeks or Romans themselves. Fortunately one of the most fruitful fields of collaboration between the ancient historian and the classical scholar proper has been in the closer definition of ancient abstract concepts.

Bengtson's book deserves a wide public; and it is most regrettable that at a time when at long last German books are once more becoming accessible in English bookshops, an artificial rate of exchange should render them almost prohibitive in price.

F. W. WALBANK.

**Alexander der Grosse am Hellespont.** By H. U. INSTINSKY. Pp. 72. Godesberg: Helmut Küpper Verlag, 1949. DM 3.80.

Immediately before and after crossing the Hellespont in 334, Alexander carried out several reasonably well-attested and symbolic acts, which are patently of high importance for an understanding of the spirit in which he invaded the Persian Empire. Oddly, they have never been given detailed scrutiny all together, and in this attractive and suggestive little book Dr. Instinsky now seeks to rectify the omission. Many will remember the vivid prose of Georges Radet, as he followed Alexander along this *pèlerinage homérique*. For this In. would substitute a *pèlerinage héro-dolien*. Alexander, he argues, was but little moved by the symbol of Achilles. His acts indicate, not the misty romanticism of a Homeric *Schöndarmeret*, but a calculated programme based on deep religious feeling, in which he joined issue symbolically with the Herodotean Xerxes, and sought to ensure the support of any gods to whom Xerxes was reported to have made overtures. His thesis is worth detailed examination.

The first point more or less imposes itself, and it is surprising that it has not been made more frequently and more explicitly. The sacrifice at Protesilaus' tomb at Elaeus is to be directly linked with Alexander's own first leap ashore at the 'harbour of the Achaeans' (Arr. *Anab.* i. 11. 5, 7). The symbolism points to the Panhellenic War, implicit in the decision at Corinth, and the style is that of Agesilaus, who preluded his invasion of Asia with a sacrifice at Aulis; in other words the action is a political as well as a religious gesture. Furthermore, Diod. xvii. 17. 2, in a slightly different version, records how Alexander, 'first of the Macedonians' threw his spear ashore, leaped after it and declared Asia 'spear-won land,' received from the gods. If this story is also true (its source, like much in Diod. xvii, is uncertain), at the outset of his campaign Alexander was laying claim to the Persian Empire (for this is the normal meaning of 'Asia' in such a context), and as in the later letter to Darius is declaring himself Great King by right of conquest. Here of course it is a mere gesture, a manifesto and an anticipation; but as such its political significance is far-reaching.

So far In. is convincing; but what follows is more dubious. First, it seems highly improbable that Alexander based his claim to god-given, spear-won land on the Delphic oracle received by Philip just before his death



(Diod. xvi. 91. 3-4; Paus. viii. 7. 6). The anti-Macedonian context of this oracle may well make it late and unreliable (cf. Treves, *Annali della R. Scuola . . . di Pisa*, vi, 1937, 277-8). But even if it was genuine (as Parke assumes it to be), its effective ambiguity must have been apparent immediately Philip was struck down, and it is inconceivable that Alexander should have resuscitated it to confirm his Persian policy. If the reference to the gods needs some explanation, it is better sought in the title *ἀνέκτορος*, with which the Pythia had recently acclaimed him (cf. Tarn, *Alexander*, ii, 338 ff.). But the symbolism of the hurled spear might well be worth examining in an enlarged context, which would include the Roman fetal practice outlined in Livy i. 32. 14, where a similar act marks the opening of hostilities.

Midway across the Hellespont Alexander sacrificed to Poseidon and the Nereids (Arr. *Anab.* i. 11. 6). This sacrifice In. believes to have been inspired by Xerxes' sacrifice in Hdt. vii. 54; and he links it with the further sacrifices made by Alexander on the Hydaspes (Arr. *Anab.* vi. 3. 1; *Ind.* 18. 1) and on the Ocean (Arr. *Anab.* vi. 19. 4; cf. *Ind.* 20. 10), which represented the farthest bounds of the world. Taken together, he argues, these two sets of sacrifices indicate from the outset a determination to conquer the world—'was man seine "Weltreichsidee" zu nennen pflegt'; and this idea, too, came from Herodotus, who records Xerxes' intention of conquering all Europe (vii. 8 β-δ).

All this goes far beyond the evidence. First of all, the sacrifices. In these In. stresses certain common elements which constitute a single 'form' and link them together, in contrast to other sacrifices made by Alexander in comparable circumstances, e.g. on the Danube (Arr. *Anab.* i. 4. 5) or on Nearchus' safe return (Arr. *Ind.* 36. 3). Here, however, he neglects the important fact (cf. Tarn, *op. cit.*, ii. 351, n. 5) that the *soteria* which celebrated Nearchus' reunion with Alexander link up directly, in the details of the sacrifice made, with that on the Hydaspes; and this would confirm the natural assumption that the latter was intended to ensure that safe return, rather than to mark Alexander's success in reaching the ends of the earth. Indeed it is clear from Arr. *Anab.* v. 25. 2 ff. that Alexander, having failed to continue his march beyond the Hyphasis, regarded his ultimate aims as unfulfilled.

The common 'form' in the sacrifices which In. groups together lies, he suggests, in the fact that (i) the sacrifice is on shipboard, not on land; (ii) it consisted of the sacrifice of a bull followed by the pouring of a libation from a golden cup. But in fact this common 'form' is attained only by means of selection and conflation. Closer examination shows the following to have happened:

(a) *Hellespont* (Arr. *Anab.* i. 11. 6): the sacrifice of a bull to Poseidon, and the pouring of a libation to the Nereids from a golden bowl, in mid-stream.

(b) *Hydaspes*: two incidents:

(i) (Arr. *Ind.* 18. 11) a sacrifice on land to the gods *δοσι τε πύρροις ἢ ποταμοῖς αὐτῶν*, to Poseidon, Amphitrite, the Nereids, and Ocean, and to the rivers Hydaspes, Acesines, and Indus. This was followed by contests. (The sacrifices to 'the gods' *ὡς νόμος* and Hydaspes *ὅπως οἱ πόρροις ἐξηγοῦντο* in *Anab.* vi. 3. 1 are probably a doublet of this.)

(ii) (Arr. *Anab.* vi. 3. 1) having gone aboard Alexander poured a libation from a golden bowl to the three rivers, to Heracles, to Ammon (on which see Tarn, *op. cit.*, ii, 351, n. 1) and the other gods *δοσις αὐτῶν νόμος σημειῖται*.

(c) *In the Ocean*: three incidents, all on ship-board (Arr. *Anab.* vi. 19. 4):

(i) Sacrifice off the river-island to certain gods (as instructed by Ammon).

(ii) Sacrifice off the sea-island to certain other gods with a different ritual (as instructed by Ammon).

(iii) Out at sea: sacrifice of bulls to Poseidon, followed by a libation (to Poseidon?) from a golden cup, which together with golden *krateres* was then thrown into the sea. The purpose was to ask Poseidon for a safe voyage for Nearchus to the Euphrates and the Tigris.

To what extent do these three very varied ceremonies parallel Xerxes' sacrifice at the Hellespont? To be candid,

very little. According to Hdt. vii. 54. 2, at day-break Xerxes poured a libation into the Hellespont, prayed to the Sun-god, and then threw the golden cup, a golden *krater*, and a Persian sword into the water. (The idea of sacrificing something valuable to counter possible divine wrath is commonplace: cf., for example, the story of Poly-crates' ring.) Herodotus makes no reference to any sacrifice; and though he suggests that the libation may have been a gift to *τῇν θάλασσαν* and a sign of Xerxes' repentance for having scourged the Hellespont, he nowhere mentions Poseidon. Furthermore, the libation was clearly not carried out on the bridge (pace In. pp. 46-7), for Xerxes did not cross until the next day (Hdt. vii. 55. 2), and he will hardly have gone on to the bridge and then returned. The likelihood is that the libation was poured from the bank between the two bridges. Finally, it took place at Sestos, whereas Alexander crossed at Elaeus. Thus as far as the sacrifice to Poseidon goes, In. completely fails to prove that Alexander's action was influenced by anything he read in Herodotus.

The third set of incidents took place at Ilium, where, it is argued, Alexander's sacrifice to Athena Ilias (Arr. *Anab.* i. 11. 7) and libation *τοῖς ἡρώων* (Plut. *Alex.* 15. 4) were modelled on the visit and comparable sacrifice and libation made by Xerxes and the Magi (Hdt. vii. 43. 1). At first sight the coincidence is striking. But it is by no means so striking as to impose the theory of direct Herodotean influence on Alexander. Given the Panhellenic slogan and the Homeric symbolism already present in the sacrifice to Protesilaus and the crossing at Elaeus, it is clear that it was inevitable for Alexander to visit Troy; and once there he must have visited the venerable shrine of Athena Polias with its ancient traditions going back to the times of the Trojan War. The form of Alexander's offering parallels that of Xerxes'; but In., in seizing on Herodotus as the explanation, has ignored the simpler possibility that a libation to 'the heroes' was part of the regular practice of this temple, and that any visitor—especially any notable visitor—was encouraged to carry it out, just as, for example, the visitor to Aracoeli is encouraged to offer up a prayer to the Gesù Bambino. Likewise the regular succession of wreaths placed with strikingly similar ritual upon the Cenotaph in Whitehall does not depend on any literary connexion between those making the offering.

Thus In.'s attempt to prove the use of Herodotus in shaping Alexander's actions at the Hellespont must be held to fail; we have still no reason to modify Tarn's statement (*op. cit.* i. 86) that 'there is no sign that Alexander knew him at all.' In any case, even if the use of Herodotus were proved, it would carry no implication for the theory of the *Weltreich*; for at the most it would merely give another reason for thinking that Alexander was determined to take Asia, viz., the Persian Empire, as Xerxes had resolved to take Europe. But Xerxes was already master of 'Asia,' whereas no one ever supposed that Alexander was master of Europe. Theopompus, it is true, had said that Europe had never produced such a man as Philip (Polyb. viii. 11. 1), and he is probably behind Diodorus' statement (xvi. 95. 1) that he was the greatest of all the kings in Europe. But that is still a long way from being master of Europe (see e.g. Polyb. i. 2. 4), and Alexander, even if he was awake to the political implications of 'Europe' as a slogan (cf. Momigliano, *Riv. fil.* 1933, 477-87; Walbank, *CQ.* 1942, 141 ff.), knew the difference between programmes, policies, and actual achievements. As regards the symbolism on the Hellespont, In. rightly suspects much of the Achilles tradition (cf. Tarn, *op. cit.* ii. 52, 57); but there can, I think, be little doubt that it was primarily the Trojan, rather than the Persian War, which governed Alexander's actions at Elaeus and Troy. (The sacrifice to Poseidon was, of course, the normal accompaniment of a naval operation.)

What remains of In.'s thesis is the symbolism of Alexander's landing and the 'spear-won soil' of Asia. And this, if genuine, does suggest that from the outset Alexander meant to overthrow the Great King. 'In the first instance,' wrote Bury (*History of Greece* (1900), 747), 'his purpose was to conquer the Persian Kingdom, to dethrone the Great King and take his place, to do unto Persia what Persia under Xerxes had essayed to do unto Macedonia and the rest (*sic*)



of Hellas.' This, rather than the picture of Alexander crossing into Asia without any clear notion of his ultimate objective (cf. Tarn, *op. cit.* i. 9), is the one which seems to emerge from the incidents on the Hellespont. It is the one concrete gain from a stimulating, but in the main unconvincing, essay.

F. W. WALBANK.

**La Macedonia sino ad Alessandro Magno.** (Pubblicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Nuova Serie, Vol. XVI.) By R. PARIBENI. Pp. vii + 106. Milan: Società Editrice 'Vita e Pensiero,' 1947. L. 300.

A subject of this scope and magnitude cannot be properly treated in a bare hundred pages. Down to the opening of Philip II's reign Macedonian history permits a continuous narrative only from time to time, where it impinges on Greek. On the other hand, a series of special problems—for instance, the nationality of the Macedonians (and how much or how little it matters), the nature of their social structure, the development and reform of the army—must be discussed in detail if they are to be discussed at all; and this implies a command of archaeological as well as literary material. Early Macedon is still a quarry for *Forschung* rather than *Geschichte*. But this book slurs over the real problems; and even for Philip II it does not really penetrate the Greek tradition.

Of P.'s failure to face problems I will mention one or two examples. Naturally he discusses the origins of the Argeads. But in this connexion he never attempts to assess the real value as a source of Thucyd. ii. 99 ff. As long ago as 1893 Koehler (in *S. B. Berlin*, 1893, 496) suggested that Thucydides' account of the growth of the Macedonian kingdom was deduced from geographical data and not based on sound tradition; and Paola Zancan (*Il monarca ellenistico nei suoi elementi federativi*, 1934, 127) drew attention to the version in Strabo ix. 434 C, which, in place of Thucydides' picture of the Argead family expelling a succession of coastal peoples, suggests that it was the surrounding mountain tribes which were assimilated to Macedonian nationality. Miss Zancan's theory of an expanding *iuxta Macedoniam* deserved discussion here; but P. completely ignores the problem, as he does the important evidence in Hdt. i. 56 and viii. 43.

A smaller crux is Thucyd. i. 61. 4, where editors read *ἐπὶ Ἐπίφω* for *ἐπὶ Ἐπίφω*, to avoid the difficulties raised by an Athenian attack on Beroea at this juncture. Whether P. thinks Beroea or Strepsa was attacked, we do not know, for he writes: 'prendendo a pretesto abusi commessi dalle truppe ateniesi nell'attraversare la Macedonia, subito dopo (Perdicca) era in campo con un corpo di cavalieri alla difesa di Potidea' (p. 43). The point goes beyond mere geography. It involves the question of who broke the treaty, and so directly affects one's assessment of Perdiccas II's character and policy. Perdiccas' successor Archelaus is given only two pages. Of his conflict with Arrabaeus and Sirras (Aristot. *Polit.* 1311 B) there is no word; but, more important, there is no discussion of his philhellenism and of the significance of his reign for the building up of the official Argead legend.

Carelessness in matters of topography may seem more venial. When the Treska is said (p. 2) to open up a way through the western mountains and empty its waters into the Adriatic, one quickly perceives that this tributary of the Vardar has suffered a temporary diversion into the Black Drin, because their sources happen to be adjacent in the hills near Dibra; and no serious harm is done by a reference (p. 28) to Vodena 'con le belle sue cascate della Bistritza,' despite the fact that Vodena lies, in reality, on the Lydias (Moglenica). But when the domain of Philip, the brother of Perdiccas II, is placed on the Strymon (p. 40) instead of on the Axios (cf. Thucyd. ii. 100), the error is more serious, for it leads P. to the hypothesis that it was Philip who ceded the land for Amphipolis to Athens in return for help against his brother; whereas the likelihood is that the alliance between Philip and Athens followed the founding of Amphipolis (cf. Geyer, *RE*, s.v. 'Makedonia,' col. 706). On p. 95 Philip II tries to awaken the Greeks to avenge wrongs suffered *two* and a half centuries ago (i.e. under Xerxes); on p. 91 we are told that for the purpose of

liberating the Peloponnese 'si ritenne necessaria non solo la presenza di Filippo nel Peloponnese col suo esercito, ma anche la deliberazione di un tribunale federale ellenico'. This is sheer carelessness. The federal tribunal was concerned with frontier problems and specific disputes between the liberated states, a very different matter.

Such loose writing arouses our distrust, and justifiably so; for repeatedly P. shows himself unaware of fundamental distinctions. 'Re, ἡτῆροι, στρατός' costituiscono quella entità che si chiama *ἐλ Μασαδών*' he writes (p. 23). A proper understanding of the constitutional development of the Macedonian state is impossible if one fails to draw a distinction between the King and *ἐλ Μασαδών*, or if one treats the *hetairoi* as an equal element in the State. Concerning the *hetairoi*, P. fails likewise to distinguish the Cavalry from the Companions. He assumes that what was true for Alexander was also true for Philip; and in one place (p. 63) he even quotes, without any qualifications, an inscription dating from the time of Philip V to illustrate the 'eccellenza tecnica degli ordinamenti militari macedoni' in the time of Philip II.

Again and again easily accessible information is missed. Had he read Tarn's *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments*, 1930, 16-17, P. might have avoided a repetition of the old error that the hypaspists were lighter armed than the phalanx; and he would have been less confident in making the *sarissa* five metres long. Similarly, his hesitating reference to the 'persone che con autorità non chiaramente definita sono incaricate di vigilare alla conservazione della κοινὴ ἀρχή' under Philip (ps.-Demosth. xvii. 15), and his comparison with the Epidaurian inscription of 302 (*JG* IV. 1. 68, line 69), for which he quotes an article of 1897, betrays no knowledge of the comprehensive discussion of these *στρατηγὸι* in Bengtson, *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit*, i, 1937, 50 ff., 154 ff., or even of the fact that the term *στρατηγός* occurs in the inscription in question.

There are already several recent, important works on early Macedon; P.'s bibliography itself duly lists the names of Geyer, Costanzi, Granier, Hampl, and Momigliano. This book fails to supplement these because its author has never quite decided what he proposes to do. It is too short and too superficial, it has no central theme, yet it is not *Forschung*; and even the great issue of Philip versus Demosthenes, with all its implications for one's approach to the history of the fourth century, gets no real appreciation here. A comprehensive history of Macedonia before Alexander is still a desideratum. But the time to write it has perhaps not yet come; and in any case it must be undertaken by someone who is awake to the difficulties of the task.

F. W. WALBANK.

**Hellenica : Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques, VII.** By L. ROBERT. Pp. 254; pl. 24. Paris: Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1949.

The phenomenal fertility of the mind and pen of Professor Louis Robert and his astonishing mastery of all the relevant evidence in his special fields of study cannot fail to evoke the wonder, not unmixed with envy, of his readers. That wonder is aroused afresh by the present volume, the seventh, and by far the longest, of a series inaugurated in 1940 and written entirely by Robert himself with the exception of vol. V, which includes a posthumous article by Mario Segre, and vol. VI, in which Madame Robert collaborated. Two only (IV, *Épigrammes du Bas-Empire*, and VI, *Inscriptions grecques de Lydie*) bear individual titles; the remainder consist of a miscellany of essays, epigraphical, numismatic, archaeological and topographical, covering a wide range, though the main emphasis falls on Asia Minor, which the author has repeatedly visited in recent years.

The volume before us contains twenty-three chapters, varying in length between two and thirty-three pages, always interesting, if only as examples of the author's methods, and frequently of considerable importance, but it will attain its highest usefulness only with the appearance of the promised index of its rich and varied contents. Six of its chapters (VII-XI, XIX) are primarily numismatic, but all of these illustrate the interplay of numismatic and



epigraphical evidence. Of the rest the longest are XXII (in which an inscription of Didyma relative to the temple and cult of Caligula is re-edited with an exhaustive commentary dealing mainly with the vexed question of the *conventus* of the Roman province of Asia), XV (which contains further addenda and corrigenda to the author's work *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*), I (in which Robert publishes a valuable inscription from Nehavend, N.W. of Susa, containing a letter of Antiochus III and enabling us to date and to restore the celebrated document of that monarch from Eriza (Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, 36, 37)), and XVIII (the *editio princeps* of a dossier discovered by G. E. Bean at Caunus, comprising two decrees of Smyrna and two of Caunus relative to the dispatch from the latter to the former city of three judges and their secretary; which in turn help to restore much more fully decrees of Smyrna for judges sent to her by Astypalaea and by Thasos, *IG XII* 3, 172, (8), 269). Other chapters of special interest are V (on Anatolian divinities), VI (a revised treatment of a decree of a Carian *συγγινια* found by the author at the temple of Sinuri), XIV (a revision of the record-breaking career of a Milesian runner, restored and supplemented by a new inscription from Didyma referring to the same athlete), and XVII (examining the decree banning the introduction of goats on the islet of Heraclea, *IG XII* 7, 509).

The book is not, it is true, flawless, but the very triviality of my criticisms is a tribute to its excellence. The forty slips in accentuation and the like which I have noted, while detracting somewhat from the reader's pleasure, do not lessen the scientific value of the work. There are occasional errors in Greek forms, such as *ἐχοντα* for *ἐχοντι* (p. 32), *Ἀρχιάνκτου* for *Ἀρχιάνκτου* (p. 87), *χρυσὸς στέφανος* for *χρυσὸς στέφανος* (p. 124); on p. 27 *σλ'* should be *FX'*, and on p. 141 the reference-numbers to footnotes 6 and 7 are transposed; G. E. Bean (p. 59) appears thrice as J. G. Bean (pp. 171, 178, 189); on p. 117 *Milet*, 19, n. 363 should read *Milet*, 19, n. 369, and on pp. 185, 188 *IG*, XII 3, 170 should be *IG XII* 3, 172. Robert makes many valuable contributions to lexicography, but I cannot accept all his suggestions. He claims (p. 210 n. 1) that the verb *ἀρχινομῶν* absent from *LS*<sup>2</sup>, occurs in *REG* 1906, 251, n. 146, l. 22 [this should read 146 bis, l. 23], but in note 4 on the same page he rightly says that this inscription must be corrected in the light of another which he quotes, failing to notice that this correction substitutes *ἀρχινομή[σις]* for *ἀρχινομή[ου]ντος*. Again, despite the authority of Wilhelm and Robert, I cannot bring myself to accept *μαγέλοιν* in a Tarsian epigram as 'un terme à ajouter aux dictionnaires' (pp. 198 f.); *μαγ* is often used adverbially in the Homeric poems (e.g. A 153 *μαγ' ἀναιδής*, Π 46 *μαγὰ νήπιος*, *Hymn. Cer.* 485 *μαγ' ὀδύσσειος*, *Hymn. Merc.* 30 *μαγ' ὀδύσσειον*, and in view of B 480 *μαγ' ἔξοχος*, ο 227 *μαγ' ἔξοχα*, and φ 266 *μαγ' ἔξοχοι* I unhesitatingly write *μαγ' ἔξοχον* in the epigram, especially as Homeric echoes are very frequent in Anatolian inscriptions. On p. 97 Robert, calling attention to the word *ἀντίμα* in *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 3158, 2, remarks 'Cet emploi d'*ἀντίμα* n'est pas connu du Dictionnaire de Liddell-Scott-Jones.' If I understand him aright, he regards it as a noun poetically shortened for *ἀν(α)τίμα* and meaning 'dedication.' But this leaves the sentence without a verb and calls into being a form *τίμα*, derived from *τίμη*, of which no example exists either in the simple or in any compound form, for *ἀντίμα*, duly registered in *LS*<sup>2</sup>, represents not *ἀν(α)-τίμα* but *ἀντι-τίμα*. True, Buck and Petersen record *ἀντιτίμα* (*Reverse Index*, 225), but their sole evidence is *SEG IV*, 453, 5, where *ἀντιτίμα* (not *ἀντιτίμα*) stands for *ἀντι-τίμα*. As Dr. P. Maas suggests to me, *ἀντίμα* in *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 3158 must be *ἀντίμα*, and, though *LS*<sup>2</sup> does not recognize the middle voice as meaning 'dedicate,' it occurs in *Anth. Pal. IX*, 744, *Rev. Bibl. XXXIV*, 579, *Ann. Mus. Nat. Bulg.* VI, 49, and N. Vulić, *Spomenik*, LXXV, nos. 37, 154. On p. 231 Robert apparently accepts *ταμειωσάντα*, where I prefer, with previous editors, to write *ταμ(ε)ύσαντα*, and on the same page he quotes *[τῷ] περὶ τῆς ἀχέλης ὑπὸ Γαβίου τοῦ ἀντιματῶτος ἐκ(η)*, where the stone has *ἐκα* and I am tempted to suspect that we should write *ἐκ(ὸν ἄγορ)ῶ*.

<sup>1</sup> Independently published by C. Clairmont, *Mus. Helvet.* V, 218-26.

But these are trifles, and my dominant feeling in closing a book which I shall often re-open is one of admiration for a very remarkable achievement.

M. N. TOD.

**The Children of Thetis: a Study of Islands and Islanders in the Aegean.** By C. KININMONTH. Pp. 224; pl. 26. London: John Lehmann, 1949. 15s.

Because of a certain wooliness of thought (so it seemed to me) in the writer's approach to his subject, because the book is disfigured by the wrong kind of misprints (Phalacron, Panagia Zoödokos Pigys, Tyrins, Troezen, miralugia, and others), and because there is in it much vague and dubious history, especially about Mediterranean and Dorian races and the universal and, it would seem, almost exclusive worship of the Mother-goddess (of whom Thetis was one manifestation—hence the picturesque title), because of all this it takes some time, and a good deal of reading, before one gets into sympathy with the author. Yet the effort should be made, for he has something to tell us.

We are not simplifying overmuch, if we divide those Englishmen who know Greece well into two classes: first and the more modest—almost all of them professional scholars—whose work has of itself made them, if they can observe at all, well acquainted with Greek lands and people; these have a wide as well as a deep knowledge. There is a second class who know Greece from a close acquaintance with a particular set of its inhabitants, in Athens, or Corfu, or elsewhere. And I have noticed one interesting contrast between the observations of these two classes of travellers: all of the first, I think, would agree that the Greeks are, by comparison with others, an extraordinarily sober people in food and drink; the conventional picture of the Greek, of any class, sitting for hours at a café talking over one glass of wine or a cup of coffee, has truth in it. The other Englishmen, on the other hand, have an uproarious time in Greece; if you want to have a good time drinking, from one café to the next, go there as one of them. There is no doubt to which class Mr. Kininmonth belongs, and not only from the preface in which he names the friends who helped him; for everywhere he went, men drank (and ate, too) all day, more than ever Homer's heroes did, and he had the greatest difficulty in coping with it all. Yet there is this difference between him and the others: he has no small circle of companions, sampling the tavernas of Athens, but goes from island to island, to Syra and to Naxos, to Anaphe and to Crete, to Paros, Aigina, and Thera, and in this one respect he found them all much alike. He always seems to have arrived for some special party. And there is the young man from Sphakia, where no gendarme dares enter, who had killed his sister, her husband and his father, for honour's sake. Fine, swash-buckling fellows.

His description of these islands, their varied landscape, their agriculture, their transport, their houses, and of the people he met, is very well done. He was in Greece before, during, and after the war; and he can write about what is interesting and enduring, and touch very little on politics—perhaps not enough, partly because politics can queer any pitch so badly, partly because what he does say about them is sensible and sensitive, and he mentions the subject only when he meets it. He was one of the band of men who made that sad attempt to liberate Samos in 1943; and his account of this, very brief, one man's experience and thoughts, is most moving. He is a sympathetic observer of men, and a good writer. He is interesting in his philosophy, so to speak, of island life; only when he is musing about Pan, and the Great Mother, does he become dull. His book therefore is one to be read.

There are many illustrations; but these, considering what opportunities the Aegean offers, are not of outstanding merit.

A. W. GOMME.

**Der griechische Rhythmus: Musik, Reigen, Vers und Sprache.** By T. GEORGIADIS. Pp. 163. Hamburg: Marion von Schröder, 1949.

The metrists of the nineteenth century enforced intelligibility upon the Greek metres by interpreting them in terms of a familiar music. The modern school, assuming



that we are no longer capable of appreciating quantitative rhythm, is content to give an accurate description of phenomena. For Georgiades this is to abandon the true end of metrical studies, which should aim at understanding how the ancient poetry and music really sounded, and to abandon it unnecessarily, since (he believes) light is thrown upon quantitative rhythm in general and ancient Greek rhythm in particular by the study of modern Greek folk-music.

G. begins by drawing a fundamental distinction between (1) *Schwerge wichts rhythmik* and (2) *Quantitäts rhythmik*. This is not a mere matter of the presence or absence of crude physical stress, since *Schwerge wicht* can exist without stress (this is a sound point), and stress may be found in association with quantitative rhythm. It is rather a matter of the relative autonomy of the units. (1) is concerned with *Zeitabsteckung*; it organises the subordinate elements in conformity with an antecedent scheme; it is thus abstract and at the same time dynamic. (2) is concerned with *Zeiterfüllung*, is concrete and static. Where (1) multiplies, (2) adds. The basic scheme and the filling of the time in conformity with it, which in (1) are distinguishable factors, are fused in (2). *Schwerge wichts rhythmik* is best exemplified in German poetry and in the classical music of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. At the other extreme come the rhythms of Greek poetry.

One suspects that G. has drawn his distinction too rigidly. Certainly, the Greek quantitative metres were and remained closely bound to the concrete units—the longs and shorts of the component words. These, with their natural quantities, unaffected by a stress-accent and largely unrelated to meaning, were intractable objects, having, as G. puts it, 'a musical-rhythmical will of their own'; and this profoundly affected the nature and practice of Greek metric. So far, so good. But, in order to preserve the purity of his basic distinction, G. tends to deny structural principles to quantitative rhythm altogether or at least to minimise their importance. This comes near to abolishing the distinction between verse and prose. Granted that the principle of *Quantitäts rhythmik* is additive, will the addition of anything produce poetic or musical rhythm? Is the sequence of quantities merely arbitrary (*willkürlich*)? Sometimes it seems that G. means this, but at other times he tacitly assumes the contrary. In his discussion of a Sapphic stanza (Diehl 96) he shows a sound sense of the ways in which Greek poets built up their metrical structures—structures which are often as easy to understand as patterned arrangements of (say) large and small pebbles as they are difficult to analyse into subordinate units. Even so, G. surely goes too far in denying to Greek metre the principles he ascribes to *Schwerge wichts rhythmik*. The term *πρῶτος* itself implies the principle of multiplication. It is no less perverse to deny that the tightly logical anapaestic dimeters and tetrameters exemplify this principle than to deny that it is substantially modified by (e.g.) the *incipitia* in iambic and trochaic rhythms. Is it not truer to say that Greek rhythm itself exhibits a tussle between G.'s two basic principles? That equivalence was allowed at all belongs to the one principle, that its application was so limited, to the other. It is because the principle attributed to *Schwerge wichts rhythmik* is so much easier to understand and describe that the ancient metrists and their nineteenth-century successors gave such an inadequate account of Greek rhythm.

When G. argues that, while the Greek language has exchanged quantity for stress, Greek folk-music has preserved the characteristics of *Quantitäts rhythmik* to an extent which can illuminate ancient Greek metre, one feels that the point needs some proving. G. is an experienced musicologist: the scholar who is not will criticise his interpretations with diffidence. We should certainly like more illustrations, more analysis, and a wider discussion in relation to other types of folk-music. To be judged, the examples need to be heard, as G. himself insists. It is difficult therefore to say more than that he produces a number of interesting parallels to Greek metrical phrases. Whether he establishes his contention that they display quantitative rhythm (in his sense) is another matter.

One of G.'s boldest and most original suggestions concerns

*ἄσπυια*. There is a common type of dance, known as the *Syrtós Kalamatianós*, the rhythmical scheme of which is  $\dot{\bar{\cdot}} \cdot \bar{\cdot} \bar{\cdot}$ . G. argues that the dotted crochet represents an irrational syllable, intermediate between long and short, and that the whole metre exemplifies that type of dactyl, with a shortened thesis, to which Dionysius of Halicarnassus refers in *comp. verb.* 17. Assuming that what Dionysius says held good for the heroic hexameter in general, G. is inclined to trace a historical connexion between the epic metre and this Greek folk-dance. Again, this needs some proving. The difficulties in the relevant passages of Dionysius are too complex for discussion here. But, when G. invokes the testimony of Aristoxenus (*rh. elem.*) and Aristides Quintilianus, there are weak points in his argument: in particular, he overlooks the point that the *ἄσπυια* of Aristoxenus (and presumably of Aristides, though the text is corrupt) is in *arsi*. G. seems right, however, in regarding the rhythm of the *Syrtós Kalamatianós* as dactylic; and this phenomenon of a dactyl with abbreviated thesis is worth bearing in mind.

This is a stimulating and original book, and its suggestions deserve study, though the author tends to push his conclusions too far and to present them in that clear-cut and schematic form which (perhaps wrongly) provokes scepticism in the English mind.

R. P. WINNINGTON-INGRAM.

**Die Bestattungsbräuche im vorgeschichtlichen Anatolien.** By Dr. T. Özgüç. Pp. 162; 89 figs. Ankara: Universität von Ankara, 1948.  
**Türk Tarih Kurumu Tarafından Karahöyük Hafriyatı Raporu, 1947: Ausgrabungen in Karahöyük.** By Dr. T. and Dr. N. Özgüç. Pp. 106; pl. 52, 25 figs., 5 plans, 3 maps. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1949.

The debt which all students of prehistory owe to Dr. Tahsin and Dr. Nimet Özgüç has steadily increased. Wherever a contribution by one or both of these scholars appears, it deserves to be read attentively, often to be re-read: and that can easily be done with the more recent publications, which include a German or English text. Two books on important subjects have now added to our sense of obligation.

*Die Bestattungsbräuche*, previously issued in Turkish, is by Dr. Tahsin Özgüç alone. Its publication is timely: a vast quantity of fresh evidence on burial customs has recently been assembled as the result of intensive exploration and excavation: sites in widely separated parts of Turkey have produced graves, and whereas sensational finds like these from Alaca have become quickly familiar, others, such as those from Tekeköy and Kaledorugu, are less known than they deserve. The descriptions and discussions are not, of course, confined to the new material; they deal with new and old, Schliemann's *Hanay Tepe*, for instance, as well as our Turkish colleagues' *Ahlalibeli*. Moreover, references to neighbouring countries are briefly but adequately given if necessary for comparison or contrast.

Among the many interesting facts which this book records, the following may be of special concern to archaeologists and anthropologists. The three commonest types of grave—jars, cists, plain earth—were often used simultaneously in the same settlement or even in the same house. Burial in jars occurred earlier in Anatolia than in the Aegean area, and was a method typical of and much favoured by the population. Some west Anatolian communities chose to inter their dead in extra-mural cemeteries, while others preferred the more widespread practice of burial within the settlement, frequently under house-floors; nor, apparently, was there any difference in culture between the adherents of these two dissimilar systems. Before the war, no cemetery had been identified except in the western and middle western provinces, but in 1940 and 1941 two grave-yards were excavated on the north coast near Samsun, one extra-mural at Tekeköy, the other inside the prehistoric village at Kaledorugu. Tekeköy is unique because its graves, all of the plain-earth type, were stratified in three layers, none of which penetrated each other. With regard to the disposition of bodies in primitive Turkey, Dr. Özgüç points out that all were flexed or contracted until late in the third millennium; then, and only at Tekeköy, extended



burials began to appear. As for grave-goods, he demonstrates that two-thirds of the recorded graves contained none: such lack of equipment must, he thinks, have been due to poverty, rather than convention, since well-furnished graves were often found nearby. Unlike South Russia, Cyprus, or Crete, prehistoric Asia Minor produced no multiple and only a few double burials.

The royal tombs at Alaca differ from the graves at other sites. In plan, they look like chambers, and the beliefs and ritual which they reflect are in many ways alien. Yet the objects which they contained included no imports, and were for the most part in the native tradition. The pages devoted to consideration of this remarkable cemetery not only summarise the problems which it raises, but also give much information hitherto available only in preliminary reports.

Throughout the book, common sense and scientific caution characterise the explanations which Dr. Özgüç suggests for the various phenomena, especially those connected with possible cults and those which throw light on beliefs about an afterworld. In drawing inferences from physical remains he is cautious too: though intrigued by the circumstances that intra-mural burials in the north-west have produced some short-headed skulls, while dolichocephalic ones come from cemeteries, he nevertheless admits that speculation is premature because measurable skulls are rare. On the other hand, there is much to recommend the theory, which he and several authorities advocate, that a foreign brachycephalic element was responsible for the non-Anatolian elements at Alaca. His idea that Anatolians introduced cist-graves into Syria and North Mesopotamia will, no doubt, be considered carefully by specialists in those provinces.

There are two criticisms which an otherwise appreciative reviewer can offer. One is that Kusura A is dated too high, and its excavator has always deliberately avoided calling it chalcolithic. The other refers to the maps, especially those on Figs. 86-9, which have been reduced to too small a scale. But these are minor matters: the whole treatise is excellent, and a special tribute should be paid to its helpful footnotes.

Dr. Özgüç and his wife have collaborated in digging and publishing Karahöyük. The site, in south-eastern Turkey, has an outstanding distinction: it has produced a slab with a Hittite hieroglyphic inscription, erected in a stone socle with a stone libation-trough in front. Dr. Güterbock, who has contributed an appendix, points out that the libation-trough implies a baetylic cult. He also warns us that the inscription contains peculiarities and many signs without exact counterparts: in consequence, the Karatepe bilingual may not give adequate help in its decipherment. The persons named in the text appear not to belong to the Hittite Imperial Period, nor are they known in later historical contexts; the hieroglyphs look as though they were later than the Empire but not much so; these considerations support the evidence of stratigraphy by indicating a date shortly after the Empire fell.

The name 'post-Hittite' has been chosen for the period when the inscription was set up, and the three periods which follow it, similar in culture, are called post-Hittite too. Except for the fact that all four post-Hittite stages are numbered from top to bottom, so that the 'fourth period' is chronologically the first, this terminology recommends itself: it is better than 'late' or 'neo-Hittite' or 'Phrygian.' For the situation is complex. The citizens contemporary with the inscription used pottery which resembled monochrome wares from Phrygia except that it was red or brown rather than grey or black; but such pottery is too widely distributed, as the account of its find spots proves, for us to associate it with Phrygian invaders. The same observation applies to the painted wares of Phrygian type which, oddly enough, came into use at Karahöyük much later than on the Anatolian plateau. Our two authors believe that the plain and painted wares alike can be derived from native Anatolian prototypes, due allowance being made for motives introduced from abroad: therein they agree with the verdict given by Bittel in *Kleinasiatische Studien*. That the Karahöyük people maintained old traditions is, in any case, proved by

their burials, which were in contracted positions under house-floors.

Beneath the post-Hittite remains, there was a stratum belonging to the Hittite Period, and quite orthodox in character. It yielded some remarkable sherds of the uncommon relief ware: one ornamented with a figure, part man, part bull, the other with a libation-pourer.

In conclusion, a word should be said in praise of the conscientious and thorough way in which the excavations and finds have been described. They are amply illustrated by photographs, drawings, and plans, while the skulls (Alpine and Mediterranean) are ably dealt with by Dr. Muzaffer Şenyürek.

W. LAMB.

**Antike Originalarbeiten der Kunstsammlung des Instituts (Archäologisches Institut der Universität Erlangen).** By W. GRÜNHAGEN. Pp. 96; pl. 32. Nürnberg: Hans Carl, 1948. DM 11.

Erlangen University has a respectable collection of classical antiquities, especially of Greek and Italian pottery, which now includes part of the Preyss collection from Munich. This short descriptive catalogue, like those for Berlin, Tübingen, and Hamburg, is a handy aid for visitors and students working in the museum, and seems generally reliable. A useful innovation is the asterisking of items of which photos are available. An index of provenances would also have been convenient.

R. M. COOK.

**Der grosse Altar von Pergamon.** By G. BRUNS. Pp. 74; 52 text figs. + map. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1949. DM 3.

A reliable, popular guide to the friezes now at Moscow, with some introductory paragraphs on Pergamon and on the structure of the altar. The booklet is remarkably well illustrated, in half-tone. The photographs show the town and altar site in their actual condition and from models, the architecture of the altar, many groups and individual figures in both the friezes, and some interesting details of the Gigantomachy. A sketch-map of the Aegean is appended, but no plans are included.

A. W. LAWRENCE.

**Masterpieces of Greek Coinage.** By C. SELTMAN. Pp. 128; pl. 55. Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1949. 21s.

This is, first and foremost, a picture-book—short, but excellently produced, and therefore not inexpensive. Nearly 200 text-figures (illustrating some sixty coins) are included, about half of which show select specimens enlarged up to four—once or twice up to six—diameters: each of these is felicitously placed near a natural-size photograph of the same coin. The coins have been photographed by the direct method, and not from plaster casts; and the superb standard of photography, combined with the excellence of the half-tones and of the paper, has given us a noteworthy record of some of the most lovely coins ever made. Reference to p. 67 (no. 27a) will show the technique of photography at its highest possible point; and, throughout, the reproductions sparkle with the true liveliness of the original metal.

As an essay on coins as works of art the book is intended for those, with little or no prior knowledge of Greek coins, who are ready to look and to think. Like most such books it has difficulties to contend with. How much general information shall be given in the Introduction? Seltman's is curiously—haphazardly—arranged: the development of Greek coinage is simplified almost to nothingness, its economic importance as the symbol of unscrupulous and cut-throat competition never mentioned. How far shall the commentary include controversial material? For there are no notes to the commentary: what is said is said: and the non-specialist, first interested, and then coaxed by the urbanity of what he reads, cannot possibly realize what is sometimes at stake. Nevertheless, as commentary on works of art it is all beautifully done, and, if the author's choice of a word or a phrase from time to time jars sharply, it is only because he has himself set a standard which is usually so fastidious.



Seltman's powers of perception again and again startle with a sharp sense—almost a pang—of pleasure. Arethusa's dolphins 'swimming clockwise against a current of ten letters' (p. 49); the pine-tree, on the wonderful coin of Aetna, that sways slightly under the eagle's weight (p. 56); the descriptions of the Selinus didrachm (p. 59), of the Amphipolis tetradrachm with 'Apollo's hair . . . pressed forward lightly by the wreath that rests upon it' (pp. 94 f.), and of the dolphin, on Kimon's Syracusan tetradrachm, which 'comes diving out of her hair to meet a second whose long snout comes from behind her right shoulder' (p. 98), are quite admirable; that of the decadrachm of Acragas could not be surpassed (p. 105). The keen-eyed reader will discover a mass of new detail for himself, for example, the curling of the two leaf-tips in Terina's olive-wreath (p. 67), the flexible head-band of Amenanos (p. 87), and the hard, gem-like brilliance of the Syracusan gold (p. 93) with its Heracles and lion superbly constricted alike by desperate effort and the narrow circuit of the flange.

The Introduction and Commentary contain points which will certainly be disputed or thought to need further inquiry—in particular, the ingenious reconstruction of Phrygillus' career and movements (the evidence here is perhaps not so eloquent as is suggested), the place of 'celators' and 'celature' in the Greek world (is it really defensible to assert (p. 9) that 'celebrated artists like Pheidias and Polykleitos acquired their fame, not as sculptors, but as celators working in gold and ivory?'), and (pp. 11 ff.) the pan-Hellenism of an art that was Athenian in origin and in spirit. With regard to this last point, even if it could be proved true of 'celature' it would not be obviously true of other branches of art, and certainly not of sculpture; and Seltman's comments on the combination of Athenian and Olympian influence in the famous Naxos tetradrachm (p. 55) suggest uncomfortably that 'to shed all preconceptions about "schools of art" in Greece' (p. 62) might be to reduce Greek artistic products to a row of beans—curiously alike yet curiously different.

C. H. V. SUTHERLAND.

**Das Klima Griechenlands.** By A. PHILIPPSON. Pp. 238; 6 maps. Bonn: Ferd. Dummlers Verlag, 1948. DM 14.80.

This book is a very welcome supplement to the same geographer's well-known *Das Mittelmeergebiet* (as old as 1904, fourth edition 1922). The subject is now Greece alone, which has its special position within the Mediterranean area. It lies eastwards near Asia, and is deeply embedded northwards in Europe, so that, despite a long coast-line, it has a more continental climate than Italy. Within Greece there are all sorts of local complexities of wind and weather, and many differences between lowland and highland, east and west, north and south (Athens, for instance, has a more than usually dry and continental species of the climate). It is only now, after much work by Greek meteorologists like Aeginitis and Mariolópoulos, that the various parts of Greece can be really accurately compared and distinguished in this respect; the results are here set forth with all possible details of isotherms and 'Isohyeten'—and even 'Isobronten', 'Isonphen', and the like. The scholar will turn with pleasure especially to those pages where the author alludes to classical matters, as in dealing with winds and sailing conditions (pp. 17, 24: the etesians are important enough, he allows, but their general importance for climate has been exaggerated, p. 26). He is very interesting about the influence of climate on the character of the people, with some reference to the Hippocratic essay *On Airs, Waters, and Places* (pp. 203–19: the reviewer has discussed the topic elsewhere, *History of Ancient Geography*, 1948, pp. 106–9). The struggle with the scourge of malaria is very old, being already represented in some of the labours of Hercules (pp. 199–203). Philippson repeats, as confirmed by recent authorities, his original opinion that there has been no great climatic change in the country within historic times (pp. 157–68).

There is a useful bibliography, but no index. The maps, showing isotherms, rainfall, and the sites of observatories, are edited by H. Lehmann, who has also corrected the text. A book of such lasting value deserved better paper.

J. O. THOMSON.

**Satyrspiele: Bilder griechischer Vasen.** By F. BROMMER. Pp. 86; 67 text figs. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1944. RM. 6.

This is an extremely useful little book which all students of the Greek satyr play will need. It lists with adequate references 205 Greek vases which may be connected with the satyric drama, and illustrates fifty-one of them. Indexes of satyr plays mentioned, subjects of pictures, and museums are added. It sums up Brommer's own earlier work and takes full account of Buschor's studies and many scattered references by Beazley, whose attributions of vases to painters in *AV* and *ARV* are quoted throughout.

First a short list of addenda and corrigenda: nos. 5 and 11, add reference to Beazley, *PBA*, xxxiii, 41 and 50; no. 8 is now in Sydney, *Handbook to the Nicholson Museum*, pl. X; no. 32, reference should be *ARV* 587/97; no. 74 should be Munich 2360, *ARV* 805/1; no. 98 is now in the British Museum; no. 106 reference should be to *ARV* 357/35; no. 169 add reference to Haspels, *ABL*, 117; nos. 172, 179 add reference to Beazley *EVP*, 37 no. 1 and 2; no. 181 two vases are confused under this heading, the Mannheim vase figured here and the former Hope vase (Tillyard 280, Trendall, *PP*, no. 117), which is now in the Dundee Public Library and Art Gallery; the Mannheim vase is therefore a new work by Python.

Then a question of principle. How do we know that the vase painter is thinking of a satyr play? Only fourteen of these vases show satyrs in the drawers which mark the chorus man; three of these also show masks (nos. 1, 4, 8); but of the fourteen only nos. 1, 4, 9, 12–13 point to a play, the rest are simply pictures of chorus men (to these should be added Boston 03.841, *ARV* 450/4). To use the rest of the material we must adopt some such principle as Brommer's: 'if the Silens appear with gods and heroes with whom they are not connected by legend, this points to the satyr play.' But we must remember (as Brommer usually does) that: (a) some stories connecting satyrs with gods and heroes go back long before the satyr play. An obvious instance is the Return of Hephaistos, but no. 13 at least must refer to a play and a play earlier than Achaioi's *Hephaestus*. The satyrs' attack on Hera (presumably therefore also on Iris and their rescue by Herakles) goes back to about 540 B.C. (Oxford 1934. 353: Haspels, *ABL*, 20, not quoted by B.), and we cannot therefore be certain that nos. 28–34 were inspired by a play earlier than Achaioi's *Iris*. If Herakles was already connected with satyrs before the satyr play began, the majority of the scenes of Herakles and satyrs probably do not arise from satyr plays, but it still seems possible that nos. 67, 74–76 (the satyrs steal Herakles' arms), 78/9, 81/3 (Herakles threatens satyrs), 89 (Satyr dressed as Herakles) are inspired by satyr plays. (b) The presence of a maenad suggests that the literary source is not a play (e.g. no. 64). (c) A single satyr in a scene may have some quite other meaning. Thus no. 88, the satyr corresponds to the nymph as a landscape element; no. 94–6 may be inspired by the *Bassarai* of Aeschylus but the *Bassarai* was a tragedy, in which the single watching satyr can have no place; he may signify 'inspired by tragedy' or he may have long been one of the hearers of Orpheus (it is just possible that a Corinthian kyathos from Ithaca (*BSA* xliii, 21, no. 52) shows Orpheus singing among animals, a satyr, and others); no. 97, perhaps Aeschylus' *Neoniskoi*, again a tragedy—the satyr is introduced because Dionysus is present; no. 120, the satyr with Hermes are almost personified landscape here. (d) Satyrs occurred in comedy as well as satyr plays. Five vases may be mentioned here. The Perseus of no. 43 must be a comic satyr if he is a satyr at all but his tail appears to be a break in the surface and his ear misunderstood in the drawing (*JHS* lxx, pl. 5); other interpretations are more likely (see *CQ* xlii, 18, no. 14). On no. 35 the grotesque head of the satyr suggests comedy rather than satyr play and it is better not to think of Aeschylus' *Atalante*. On no. 105 a woman leads a doddering satyr towards a tripod cauldron; here it is not necessary to think of comedy; the satyr on the back, who has no connection with drama, has the same button nose and big round eye. Medea rejuvenates an aged satyr. B. suggests Euripides' *Peliades* but it is most unlikely to have been a satyr play and we know nothing of Sophocles' *Pelias*, if it existed. It is



perhaps worth noting that in Aeschylus' *Trochæi* Medea rejuvenated the Nurses of Dionysus with their husbands, who were presumably satyrs. The fat woman who is being tortured by satyrs on no. 116 seems to me more likely to belong to comedy than satyr play; the cowering satyr on no. 155 also looks to me like comedy. (e) Satyrs are wild, boisterous beings who can do anything and it is amusing to paint them doing things that ordinary humans do. When mortals and satyrs appear in the palaestra on either side of the same vase (no. 109, *ARV* 148/11) this seems to me a more likely explanation than that one side is inspired by Pratinas' *Palaistai* or Aeschylus' *Theoroi* or *Isthmiastai*; in this class I should put nos. 55-9, 68-71, 107-12, 117-18, 123-5, 129-54, 156-66.

In spite of these reservations we have a considerable gain, since the vases tell us how the Greeks thought of satyrs during the formative and most flourishing periods of the satyr play. They also suggest that there were satyr plays dealing with Perseus (36-42), Theseus (99-103), Persephone (106), Helios (172), and Aphrodite (21-6). A considerable number of the vases may be connected with plays known to us by name: Aeschylus, *Sphinx* (19, 178-81), *Prometheus* (9, 187-99), *Anyone* (44-54), *Circé* (128), *Argo*? (104); Sophocles, *Amycus* (113-14), *Achilleus Erastai* (182-5), *Dionysiskas* (175-7), *Inachus* (167-8), *Krisis* (117, unless it is too early), *Pandora* (16-17; 15 is still too doubtful), a satyr play with Triptolemos possibly the *Iambe* (126/7); Euripides, *Cyclops* (98). Some of these connexions are more convincing than others. I should like to suggest two more in addition to Aeschylus' *Trochæi* (105). On no. 1 a chorus man and other satyrs construct a couch; this might be Aeschylus' *Thalamopoioi*; the satyr dressed as Hermes on no. 119 might come from Aeschylus' *Kerykes*. Finally, the Pronomos vase (4) gives the actors and chorus of a Herakles play, probably the Hesione story, by a poet Demetrius, who may be the comic poet of that name.

T. B. L. WEBSTER.

**Le siècle de Périclès.** By P. CLOCHÉ. Pp. 128. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949. 110 fr.

The *Que sais-je?* series, intermediate in size of format between the Home University Library and the 'Benn Sixpenny' of the 1930s, is comparable in merit to either of those great enterprises in cheap educational publishing. This volume, however, it must be admitted with regret, is a rather pedestrian little book. It is perhaps not one of the first duties of the writer of a primer to be exciting; yet when the subject is Athens, surely it is a pity if the extraordinary epic and tragic quality of fifth-century history should not make itself felt. Failing this, one cannot but feel that an opportunity has been missed, and that at best this is not a primer that is going to fire many charges.

To come to details, the chapter entitled *Le Mouvement religieux et intellectuel*, one of three devoted to the decades before 462, in practice deals exclusively with the Aeschylean and pre-Aeschylean drama; there is nothing about other developments in religion, and on the impact of Ionian science on Athens we have only a few cursory remarks in the very last chapter. Over forty plays are catalogued and where possible dated (causing one to wonder whether the omission of Euripides' *Ion*, *Phoenissae*, *Heracles* and *Heraklidae*, alone among extant plays, is deliberate or not); but judgments on the dramatists are sometimes naïve. Aristophanes is credited with meaning in good earnest anything that any of his heroes says, and Euripides, in the antique manner, with misogyny; although, as the author gravely remarks, not all the poet's (or rather, one must interject, his characters') strictures upon women are applicable to some of his heroines. Elsewhere, Antiphon is described as 'the chief' of his party in 411, which is a slight overstatement of what Thucydides says; and in the chapter on early fifth-century art five pages are devoted to the vase-painters and the same number to a summary chiefly of what ancient writers tell us about Myron, Polygnotus, and their contemporaries. There is scarcely a hint of the difference between the types of evidence available to us on these two groups of artists—minor and major, as the ancients would unhesitatingly have said—nor of the significance of these different types of evidence, as bearing on the nature and limitations of our knowledge.

I would gladly have praised this book; but modern French scholarship could have given us a better one.

A. R. BURN.

**Euripides: Selected Plays, with Introduction, Metrical Synopsis and Commentary. Part I. The Alkestis.** By D. F. W. VAN LENNEP. Pp. 156. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1949. 6.50 guilders.

This is the first of a series of selected plays of Euripides which Dr. van Lennep is to edit for the publishers. It is written in English, with a thirty-six-page introduction, a metrical synopsis, and a short commentary arranged under the text on each page. The editor's chief concern, as he explains in the preface, is with a 'better understanding of the poet's personality and outlook on human life.' This is in fact not designed, like most English commentaries, to be entirely self-supporting, since both the schoolboy and the more advanced student would from their different points of view require a much more detailed exegesis, but the limitation is a perfectly legitimate one. The text is in the main that of the Oxford Euripides, occasional divergences being briefly explained in the commentary. Elucidations of sense or grammar are sometimes so brief as to be scarcely intelligible, as for instance in the difficult passage 449-51, or in the remark (on 331) that ἄνδρα is 'grammatically not to be linked with προσφθίγεται.' What is ἄνδρα (321)? And on 355 to say that 'παρῆ must of course be taken in the impersonal sense' is the shortest way of circumventing the difficulty, but only one possibility (not the most probable) among others. In 1036, on the other hand, it is surely impossible to avoid taking καὶ with οὐ; otherwise what is the pronoun doing there at all, and how could their separation be conveyed? In general, however, these short notes serve their purpose of helping the moderately competent reader through the text with the minimum of distraction, and it is often an advantage to see the way cut sensibly through a tangled dispute. It is perhaps a pity that, of editions in English, Dr. v. L. should refer only to Hayley rather than to the greatly superior Earle, Hadley, and Jerram; had he been acquainted with these he could not have supposed, for instance, that he was the first to see a reminiscence of *Agam.* 416 ff. in Admetus's plan to have a statue of Alkestis.

The introduction and the bulk of the commentary are devoted to the interpretation of the play as a work of literary art. In laying all the stress, in general and in detail, upon Euripides' ἥθροισι Dr. v. L. will have the approval of many readers, but his pleading will not move the unconverted. He warns us, it is true, against reading modern sentiments into the Greek, but the question is rather one of the whole approach to Greek drama, and particularly to Euripides, who lends himself most easily to this kind of simplification. To assume that the poet's main preoccupation was with the delineation of character, and to interpret every facet of the action, every turn of the dialogue, as deliberately intended to throw light upon the inner nature of the speakers is to disregard a number of other important factors—the needs of the action, the place of rhetoric, with its own code of habits, in Greek drama, the common forms of literary sentiment in antiquity (often quite different from our own), the conventions of stichomythia, an occasional tendency to develop a piquant situation for its own sake—among all of which ἥθροισι takes its own modest place. Where the search for 'character' by these methods produces some curiously mixed traits, the person in question is credited with a subtle and complex ἥθος—there is something very elusive about this Alkestis—Her kindness to the servants (769) is taken as evidence of Admetus's 'temper and rash ways of dealing with the domestic staff,' so that (825) 'It is surprising that Admetus, who was a model of kindness and piety to Apollo during the latter's period of serfdom, seems to be thoroughly unpopular in the servants' hall.' Most of the play, in fact, is turned into an elaborately unflattering portrait-study of Admetus, a shallow, insincere extravert, of infantile egotism, insistent on his own sufferings or his own noble feelings, lacking inner refinement, incapable of understanding his wife, hysterical in his hatred of his father, harsh and unpleasant to his inferiors. And in order to fit with this picture some of the main incidents of the play



are turned round and stood on their heads: his hospitality to Heracles is bad manners and unpardonable deceit, deplored by the Chorus in spite of the emphatic *ἀγῶν* (603) and by Heracles in spite of 855 ff. and 1147-8 (which is ambiguous only if τὸ λοιπὸν be misunderstood), while his reluctant consent to shelter the unknown woman brought by Heracles is represented as a final 'unfaithfulness and moral defeat,' foreseen only too well by Alcestis and the Chorus earlier. Dr. v. L. speaks of a certain ambiguous quality in the play produced by the 'opposition between the realistic and mythical conceptions which are closely interwoven in the presentation of its characters'; substitute 'story' for 'characters' and I would cordially agree, but the change makes a deal of difference. In denying that the drama is 'satiric' or 'comic' (cf. the Hypothesis) he is surely right.

The 'metrical analysis' does not go beyond the attachment of a separate label to each line, in many cases, such as 'reizianum' for 114, 'glyconic with dactylic base' for 244, 'iamb. dim. with Doppelsenkungen' for 224, obscuring rather than illuminating the phenomena.

The English, apart from one or two slips, is excellent. For 'Herakles' p. 7 read 'Death,' and for 'Parmentier' *passim*, 'Mérédier.'

A. M. DALE.

**Herodotus.** Translated by J. E. POWELL. 2 vols. Pp. vol. i, xxxii + 353; vol. ii, 419 + 3 maps. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949. 21s.

This translation by a scholar who has already published a lexicon and a critical analysis of Herodotus and an edition of Book VIII is undoubtedly the best which has yet appeared in English. He began the first draft, he tells us, when he was at school nearly twenty years ago and has submitted it to several revisions. The text used is the Oxford text of Hude with emendations by the translator and others, of which a list is given at the end of the second volume.

The Introduction contains much interesting matter. Mr. Powell's account of the evolution of the work follows his critical analysis already mentioned (*Cambridge Classical Studies IV*, 1939). He holds that the fruits of Herodotus' inquiries and the observations made during his travels were embodied in a History of the Persian Empire published c. 448-442 B.C. and consisting of a chronicle of events, historical tales, and ethnographical descriptions of the countries with which the Persians came into contact. In this original version the centre of interest was Persia, but, after Herodotus had taken part in the colonization of Thuri, he enlarged the scope of his work to include the Hellenic West as well as the Greek mainland and the fringe of Anatolia. This process is admirably illustrated by the analysis given on pp. xiv and xv. This revised edition contained no mention of the Peloponnesian War, and it is conjectured that Herodotus may have died of the plague at Athens in 429 B.C. Other topics treated in the Introduction include the language and style of the author, the influence of rhetoric on his work, his religious views, and his achievement as a historian, geographer, and literary artist.

After the Introduction a note on English translations of Herodotus is inserted. Mr. Powell does not distribute bouquets to his predecessors. Mr. G. C. Macaulay's translation, published in 1890, receives most approval.

In his own translation, Mr. Powell tells us, the language is in the main the English of the Authorized Version of the Bible, and he expresses the opinion that this language has 'a certain quaintness and archaism' which makes an impression 'not dissimilar from that which the Ionic original must have made upon Attic readers in the twenties of the fifth century B.C.' Some readers will doubtless consider that plain modern English would have been preferable; others will wish that the numbers had been inserted at the beginning of each chapter, which would have greatly facilitated reference. These, however, are very minor criticisms, and the translation gives the impression of being accurate, scholarly and eminently readable.

The second volume concludes with a full index of proper names, with brief notices of persons and places, and three excellent maps.

EDWARD S. FORSTER.

**Xenophon: the Persian Expedition.** Translated by REX WARNER. Pp. 309; 1 map. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: The Penguin Classics, 1949. 1s. 6d.

The appearance in the Penguin series of this translation of Xenophon's masterpiece deserves a warm welcome. The language used by Mr. Warner, like Xenophon's own, is simple, straightforward, and lively. Occasional deviations from correct usage (e.g. *Acolia* for *Acolis*) will not trouble or mislead those for whom the translation is intended. It is a pity, however, that Mr. Warner has shrunk from calling a *parasang* a *parasang*. *Parasangs* are surely as much part of the local colour of the *Anabasis* as knots are in stories of the sea. It is to be hoped that in any reprints of this translation *parasang* will be added to the eleven words such as *ephor*, *hoplite*, *peltast*, that Mr. Warner has left untranslated in his text and explained on p. 13 of his Introduction. His arguments for not having rounded off the dozen by including *parasang* leave me quite unconvinced. One other improvement might be suggested. The sketch map would be more useful if it was larger and consequently clearer and not tucked away as it is between the introduction and the text.

These, however, are very minor matters. For the great majority of readers, who will certainly have no knowledge of Greek, and whose knowledge, if any, of Greek history will be drawn from modern books about Greece, this very human record will come as a revelation. Here is a document that should revive the faith of doubting democrats. The writer is a child of the Athenian democracy who was highly critical of Athens and had a great admiration for totalitarian Sparta. The expedition took place four years after the fall of Athens. The ten thousand were a miscellaneous crowd of ex-service men, largely drawn from cities which had been on the Spartan side in the Peloponnesian War. Yet within their own little community these ten thousand conduct their proceedings by argument and elections. Mr. Warner does well in his Introduction to protest against the debunking of this achievement so common among modern historians.

But however warm our welcome to this translation, it cannot help reminding us how few people there are in this country who can read even this simple story in the original Greek. Even among students in the Arts faculties of our universities they are the rare exception. But Mr. Warner's *Persian Expedition* may remind us also how easy it would be to change this deplorable state of affairs. For these literally misguided students and for thousands of intelligent young people in the top forms of our schools, ignorant of Greek but reasonably good at Latin, it is a strictly practical proposition to learn to read a book or two of the *Anabasis* in Greek. It can be done as a *μάθητρον* in the course of a few terms. Some will not be content to stop there, but even those who do will have gained some idea of the unique language that was the basis of the Greek achievement.

P. N. URE.

**Le déchiffrement des inscriptions minoennes.** By V. GEORGIEV. Pp. 81. Sofia: University of Sofia, 1949.

Professor Georgiev has supplemented his *Vorgriechische Sprachwissenschaft* (*Studia Linguistica II*, 1918, 69 ff.) by a more extensive survey of the Minoan script, and generalisations as to the characters of the language, which he thinks may be Indoeuropean and perhaps contain words common to Greek. On this matter his philological skill is of value. He accepts much from other writers—Sundwall, Peruzzi, Hrozný. Many sign-groups he regards as personal-names, others (on commodity tablets) as place-names. On vases from Thebes he finds the group *thepalo*, with adjectival suffix. He detects names of deities at Hagia Triada, thinks (like Sundwall and others) that the double-axe prefix = 'god' or 'divine'; reads *takōn* (= *χθών* = Dragon) on the vase from Eleusis, and so brings in the inevitable Philistine-Pelasgians. To support these transcripts, he gives thirty-eight phonetic equivalents for signs, but does not explain how most of them are ascertained, except in general by resemblance to Cypriote syllabary, Greek or Phoenician alphabet, Hittite hieroglyphs, or by acrophony or 'etymological considerations': other suggestions are made for sixteen more signs.

Much of this great industry may have its reward when



we have bilingual texts, or even a few with traces of syntax. We cannot yet speak, as Mr. Georgiev does, of 'different words of which the meaning is evident' (p. 41). Among all the commodity tablets, what is the Minoan word for a sheep or a wheel?

The rest of this memoir consists of discussions of the Eteocretans, Pelasgians, Kefiui, and the spread of the Greek language, from Neolithic times to the Dorian migration, summarising authorities and recent work, but not adding much.

JOHN L. MYRES.

Ἡ σύγκλητος εἰς τὸ Βυζαντινὸν Κράτος. By A. A. CHRISTOPHILOPOULOU. Pp. 152. Athens: Academy of Athens, 1949.

This is a very useful piece of research, clear, concise, and admirably documented. Miss Christophilopoulou examines all references to the Byzantine senate and senators (ἡ σύγκλητος βουλὴ, ἡ σύγκλητος, συγκλητικοί) in official documents, histories, chronicles, letters and tracts, Lives of the Saints, and, finally, poems, both literary and popular; and summarises her results under the headings 'Composition of the Senate,' 'Functions,' 'Duties,' and 'Place of Senators in Society, State Services, and Legislation.'

It emerges very clearly from her researches that there was in mediaeval Byzantium an enormous body of persons of senatorial rank, the large majority of whom were *ex officio* senators, that is, in virtue of other offices or ranks which they held in the bureaucracy or nobility. The number of senators at any one time is doubtful, and the statement of Attaliota that in the days of Nicephorus III there were 'tens of thousands' of them must be received with caution; but they must always have been counted in thousands. This body as a whole had no constitutional function; the rank was honorary, distinguished by special insignia, and jealously guarded. On the other hand, from among the leading members of the body, the emperor chose his advisory council, and various *ad hoc* legal and other committees. The elector to and convener of these councils and committees seems to have been in each case the emperor: they had no independent power, except as a council of regency. None the less, the advisory council, consisting as it did of the most influential members of the state and, there is reason to think, often composed of members of the imperial family, obviously exercised enormous influence on imperial policy. In its combination of advisory and judicial functions this 'inner' senate may be compared to the Privy Council of mediaeval England.

Various theories have been put forward to explain the terminology of senatorial gradation, and the principles on which the councils were chosen. The author's excellent knowledge of Byzantine terms and phraseology makes her criticism of these theories most convincing: she is able to deal effectively with the untenable thesis of Ellissen (p. 61), and to correct errors of Ostrogorsky (p. 68), Bury (p. 77), and Zacharia and Uspensky (p. 99). In fact, there was no certain terminology for the inner councils: the members were merely the *προδρόντες*, *πρόκριτοι*, *ἀριστοὶ* τῆς συγκλήτου, or the *οἰκιστοὶ*, *familiares*, of the emperor (add to the author's exhaustive list of references *De Admin. Imp.* (ed. Moravcsik-Jenkins) 51/23).

Where difficulties are baffling, the author is not afraid to say so. Like the rest of us, she is posed by the enigmatical ὑπὸ καμπύλῃν συγκλητικοί of the *Cletorologion*, though she gives all the data about them with her usual clarity. (May not the phrase simply mean 'senators below the buskin-rank'?.) She includes (pp. 47-55 and 80-8) lists of officials mentioned as holding various offices together with senatorial rank, and as 'Proedroi' or 'Protoproedroi' of the senate; these will be useful to prosopographers also. There is a very full source-index. This is a valuable hand-book, indispensable to all Byzantinists.

R. J. H. JENKINS.

**Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Belgique: Bruxelles, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, fascicule iii.** By F. MAYENCE and V. VERHOOGEN. Pp. c. 200; pl. 55. Brussels: Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, 1949. 350 Belgian fr.

This third instalment completes the publication of the Brussels vases, and the authors deserve praise. They give

good measure (this is not one of those numerous fascicules of the Corpus in which by free use of large blank spaces a score or so of vases are made to cover the minimum number of plates considered decent). The photographs are nearly all very good, without retouching, or painting out of backgrounds. (The practice, actually prescribed at the outset, of deliberately falsifying the negatives has been a curse of the Corpus all along, is a disgrace to classical archaeologists, and in spite of protests appears to be ineradicable). The descriptions are careful and detailed, the bibliographies almost complete. There is an index to all three fascicules, and a preface gives a history of the collection, which records, among other matters, first, that the vases acquired by Brussels from the Campana collection had formed a reserve, and were not part, as Salomon Reinach alleged, of the collection paid for by the French government; secondly, that the benefactor de Meester de Ravestein, disappointed at one time by the reception of his overtures in Belgium, thought of presenting his collection to the Museum of Munich, but was dissuaded by his friend Heinrich Brunn, who urged him to keep it in his native country, and if the Belgian state was unwilling to receive it, to entrust it to a Belgian university.

Some notes on details follow: in a publication of such wide range, points must needs present themselves on which there may be more than one opinion.

II D pl. 4 (Belg. pl. 106), 5: also Johansen *Iliaden* fig. 8.

III Cb (Etruscan) pl. 2 (Belg. pl. 111), 1: sphinx not griffin. Pl. 2, 2: a lion in the third zone; Rosone Group (see *Raccolta Gaglielmi* p. 74) like Brussels R 213.

III G, Boeotian. Pl. 3, 1 seems Attic, cf. *BSA*. 42 pll. 20-1. So does pl. 3, 2, cf. the stemless London A 483, and another, from Kalyvia, in the Vlasto collection. And pl. 3, 5, cf. Oxford 1927. 4332. Pl. 3, 6 cannot be separated from Oxford 1927. 6 (CV. III G pl. 1, 55 and pl. 3, 10), with which it is here compared, and must be Corinthian like it. Pl. 3, 9, Attic? Pl. 4, 4, Attic; pl. 4, 6 too, as well as pl. 4, 8.

III He, Attic bf. Pl. 22, 1, Group of London B 76. Pl. 24, 2, cf. *RG*. pl. 18, 32. Pl. 24, 7, Phanyllis Class, Arming Group. Pl. 24, 6 100. Pl. 25, 5, related to the Acheloos Painter. Pl. 27, 3, funeral—vaediction? Pl. 28, 15: a good fragment by the Painter of Munich 1410. His other works are Munich 1410 (CV. pl. 41, 2, pl. 42, and pl. 52, 4), Munich 1411 (CV. pl. 41, 3 and pl. 43: wrongly ascribed to the Swing Painter in *BSA*. 32, p. 14), Philadelphia 4832 (*Mus. Journal* 4 p. 148), New York GR 533, and a hydria in Jena (*AM*. 41 pl. 30, 1).

III I c, Attic rf. Pl. 21, 2: Theseus not Herakles, sword hanging not bow. Pl. 23, 1, with the figure holding spear and shield cf. the Berlin Painter's Amazon on his panathenaic in Florence (CV. pl. 27, 1). Pl. 23, 2: the more interesting fragments not published.

III I d, Attic rf. Pl. 12, 7, Karlsruhe Painter (*ARV*. p. 510, no. 59). Pl. 17, 2, Painter of London E 356, cf. his pelike in Manchester (*Mem. Manch.* 87, pl. 5, a-b).

III I c, Attic rf. Pl. 4, 1, in the form of a bell-crater rather than a skyphos. Pl. 4, 3, Saint-Valentin class (*EVP*. p. 219).

III J b, Attic white. Pl. 5, 7, Quadrate Painter.

III L and N, Attic black. Pl. 3 (Belg. 138), 4; seems Etruscan or Latin, Torlonia Group, see *EVP*. pp. 235-6. Pl. 3, 21, Tsambres Class, as it may be called from a hydria in Oxford found at Tsambres in Cyprus: others:—once Ionides (*Exhibition of the Famous Ionides Collection*, p. 14, 1 and p. 14, 2), Rhodes 13966 (*Cl. Rh.* 2, p. 158), Copenhagen inv. 5616 (CV. pl. 181, 8), one in Nicosia, one in the Benachi collection, Alexandria, one in the High School, Venice, California.

IV E, Campanian. Pl. 1, 1, C.A. Painter. Pl. 1, 4, too. Pl. 1, 8: cf. CV. Capua pll. 11-13. Pl. 2, 3: cf. CV Capua pl. 50, 11 and 14, but hardly by the same hand. Pl. 2, 5, Attic, Group of Vienna 116. Pl. 2, 6, Attic, same time as the last: the resemblance in shape between these late Attic stemless and Campanian like pl. 2, 3 suggests that the Campanian are not much later than the Attic. Pl. 2, 9, Attic. Pl. 2, 13, C.A. Painter or close. Pl. 2, 16, Ixion Painter. Pl. 3 (Belg. 147), 14, Attic? Pl. 3, 40: on such askoi see *EVP*. p. 273, Van Deman Class (the Cook vase is now in Dunedin).



IV B, Etruscan. Pl. 1 (Belg. 150), 2: Corinthian. Pl. 1, 5, Ivy-leaf Group. Pl. 2 (Belg. 151), 2: Clusium style. Pl. 2, 5, gorgonion?

J. D. BEAZLEY.

**Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum: Ein Bilder-atlas epigraphischer Denkmäler Attikas.** Edited by J. KIRCHNER. 2nd edition revised by G. KLAFFENBACH. Pp. 34; pl. 54. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1948.

The first edition of this invaluable album, issued in 1935 and reviewed in *JHS* lvi. 93 f., met with so cordial a reception that the stock was soon exhausted. Kirchner's own long and active life ended in 1940, but in Klaffenbach the publishers found a scholar ideally qualified to revise the work. With characteristic restraint and *pietas*, he has resisted the temptation to make changes in or additions to Kirchner's selection of materials, determined 'to maintain in all circumstances the personal note and to keep his own activity as far as possible in the background.' The number of photographs remains unchanged at 152, though one (no. 11, the herm of Hipparchus) has been added and one (no. 123 of the first edition = *IG* ii. 2 3264 = *IG* vii. 195) has been omitted as non-Attic. But this does not mean that the editor's task has been a sinecure and that the new edition is little more than a re-issue of the first. Almost every page attests the care and competence with which he has done his work, immensely increasing the value of the book. The 'Erläuterungen zu den Tafeln' now occupy twenty-six pages instead of twenty-two, recent bibliographical references have been added, especially where questions of chronology are involved, and many changes have been made in the order of the inscriptions in the light of new knowledge. For example, no. 39, the decree for Callippus, is assigned to the later fifth century instead of to 394-87 B.C., no. 42, the casualty-list of Arginusae, to 406-5 instead of to the beginning of the fourth century, no. 83, the decree for Strombichus, to 268-7 instead of to 280-79, no. 82 is raised by 18 years, while no. 98 is lowered by 43. The work thus affords valuable testimony of the rapid progress made in recent years by epigraphical study.

Where so much is given, it may seem ungracious to ask for more, but the addition of a table showing what inscriptions in *IG* i<sup>2</sup> and ii<sup>2</sup> are included among these *imagines* would occupy only a single page and would add greatly to the usefulness of the book.

M. N. TOD.

**Ambiguity in Greek Literature: Studies in Theory and Practice.** By W. B. STANFORD. Pp. xi + 185. Oxford: Blackwell, 1939. 10s. 6d.

Apart from a classical scholarship in the great tradition of Trinity College, Dublin, this book is arresting by reason of Mr. Stanford's knowledge of other literatures and especially his insight into poetry. Some of its key passages are in Chapter VI 'Elements of Meaning.' 'Elaborate use of esoteric poetry was foreign to the Hellenic ideal of *σαφήνεια*. This was because in classical Greek days the hearer was considered far more by the greater poets than he is to-day.' The greater classical poets (Mr. Stanford instances Horace) did not, as the more esoteric poets do, 'adopt the methods of the cuttle-fish retreating under cover of an opaque cento of purple patches.' The author makes a useful distinction between the *πολιτικός ποιητής* and the *ἰδιωτικός ποιητής*, the communal poet and the private poet. The former, with whom Mr. Stanford is most concerned, would avoid being obscure, but he might deliberately be ambiguous; in writing for a varied audience he would allow for the fact that words have different personal meanings for different persons and groups of persons. Mr. Stanford amply proves his case by the practice of Greek authors, and readers of the masterly chapters on the 'Agamemnon', the 'Oedipus Tyrannus' and the 'Bacchae' will wish that he had extended his very wide field of illustration.

Why, for instance, is Simonides' epitaph on the dead at Thermopylae so famous? 'For its simplicity,' we were told at school when we thought it feeble. But four of the simple words

ὦ ξείν' ἀγγέλλειν Ἀσπασμονίους, ὅτι τῇδε  
καίμεθα, τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πεπθόμενοι

are ambiguous because of their very simplicity; and it is reasonable to think that the poet intended the epitaph to be double-edged, a message of blind obedience, but of implicit reproach. The late C. W. Brodribb of *The Times* (who had read the book under review) tried to convey the same ambiguity in equally simple English:—

Ho! Sir; here lie we in this foreign dust.  
Tell Sparta; hers the word and ours the trust.

The simplest words often conceal the most—not only in Greek; the German 'Geist' is a modern example, Virgil's 'rerum' an ancient one. (Did Virgil, one wonders incidentally, mean three out of the five words in 'quam forti pectore et armis!' to be taken in two senses?)

The illustration from French of phrasal homophony on p. 8 is, unfortunately, printed so as to lose the point of the joke. It should read:—

Gal, amant de la reine, alla, tour magnanime,  
Galamment de l'arène à la Tour-Magne à Nîmes.  
HENRY BIRKHEAD.

**Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (Hesperia, Supplement VIII).** Pp. xv + 433; pl. 64. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1949. \$15.

In a special issue within the framework of its quarterly periodical the American School at Athens honours the memory of one of its great men who died in 1945 at the age of sixty-four. While he ranged freely over the field of Greek archaeology, Shear will be remembered above all for his guidance of the excavations at Corinth and the Athenian Agora. It is therefore fitting that not a few of the forty-five contributors to his memorial volume should have written on matters intimately concerned with these two great projects. Miss Margaret Crosby describes the construction whose plan has been recovered in the Agora under the track of the electric railway: she clinches its identification as the precinct of the Altar of the Twelve Gods dedicated by the younger Peisistratos; summarising the evidence she inclines to the beliefs that the year of the dedication was 522/1 B.C., that it was the same altar that was later known as the Altar of Pity, and that the front of the original parapet was decorated with reliefs (probably reflected in contemporary vase paintings) in which the pantheon was arranged in pairs. F. O. Waage publishes the finds from an Early Helladic III mass interment in a well near Corinth. A number of specialised studies from the Agora offer new material and conclusions: A. W. Parsons' short note on T. Flavius Pantainos who founded a library, Homer Thompson's recognition of an Attic precursor of the late archaic man-and-dog *stelai*, Eugene Vanderpool's interim report on ostraka, Rodney Young on Phoenician amulets from Greek sites and W. K. Pritchett on a catalogue of ephebes of the tribe Oineis ca. 330 B.C. J. Travlos presents his restoration of the west end of the Agora (finding space for a substantive Stoa Basilikos) and holds out the promise of an archaeological map of Athens. Miss Virginia Grace's trailer on the systematic study and recording of stamped wine amphorae points the way to a classification of amphorae as such which will materially benefit the field archaeologist. B. H. Hill and W. B. Dinsmoor contribute important architectural studies: while Hill stymies his objections to the 7 × 4 arrangement of the interior columns of the Theseum, Dinsmoor takes over the unlocated and unidentified great temple at Corinth and demonstrates from the measurements of two stones surviving in a Venetian wall that the building must have been erected in the second half of the fifth century B.C. and exceeded the temple of Zeus at Olympia by over 31 feet in length on the stylobate.

Athenian studies are not confined to the sphere of the American excavations. A. Orlandos corrects some misconceptions about the tiling system of the Parthenon, and shows that the rows of cover tiles which backed the leading antefixes were throughout their whole length considerably higher and wider than the pairs of intermediate ones, thus



presenting a 'series of strong lines or sinews' in the aspect of the roof. Rhys Carpenter finds confirmation of his previous restoration of the figures of the east pediment among the twelve gods of the altar recently discovered at Ostia; his paper, like C. H. Morgan's lively restatement of the claim of the Vienna Apoxyomenos to represent Lysippos, should not fail to provoke discussion. Miss Lucy Shoe discusses the several uses of dark stone in Athenian buildings before, by, and after Mnesikles. Oscar Broneer expands his interpretation of Plato's description of early Athens; duplicate cults and the name of the month Metageitnion are convincingly explained by the migration of townsfolk to summer billets in the fields around the Ilissos. Among the specialised studies in Athenian epigraphy and numismatics the amplest are those of W. S. Ferguson, who supplements his work on the Attic *orgeones* by a discussion of the fragmentary decree recording the inauguration of the cult of Bendis, and A. R. Bellinger's collection of the objective evidence for the dating of New Style silver. E. S. G. Robinson relates the suspension of the silver issues of many of the tributary cities in the mid-fifth century to the Athenian currency control decree, and uses issues and hoards to show that the application of the control was by no means successful or consistent. The preservation of cultural traditions by the old families in Roman Athens is shown to advantage in J. H. Oliver's sympathetic treatment of two men of letters, Sarapion and Glaukos.

The fragments of a stone pillar, perhaps from the doorway of an early Mycenaean tomb, with ships roughly scratched on its faces draw special attention to the article in which C. W. Blegen identifies the mound at Dramesi near Aulis as the pre-classical site of Hyria, and H. R. W. Smith discusses a new specimen of a small class of early fifth-century protome figurines, which he considers to be Lebedaeian in origin, and the relation of veiled female protomes to chthonic cults (add Breitenstein *Cat. Terracottas* (Danish Nat. Mus.), Pl. 40, no. 331, from Atalante); while among much that is remarkable in David M. Robinson's publication of the Robinson teaching collection of gems one might single out no. 24, which the owner would like to regard as a portrait of Plato, or failing that Aristotle or another. There is much else that will interest readers in the different branches of classical studies and attract those who care for ancient craftsmanship; it is sufficient to remark that it is written under names ranging in order from Beazley to Wace. The excellence of production and the scarcity of slips and misprints render the book a pleasure to read and a very handsome memorial.

J. M. Cook.

**Pan: der griechische Bocksgott. Versuch einer Monographie.** By R. HERRIG. Pp. 99; pl. 40 + 14 text figs. Frankfurt a/Main: V. Klostermann, 1949. DM 14.

This is a pleasant little work. The author is an archaeologist, obviously interested especially in the history of art both ancient and modern and far from ill-informed regarding the literary sources for the cult of the Arkadian goat-god. Concerning this he has nothing very new to say, indeed could hardly expound the subject in so small a compass. He does, however, suggest that so fundamental a human need as belief has lasting results: 'Götter, wenn anders sie wirklich Götter sind, sterben nicht' (p. 10). He also thinks that the development of Pan into a universal god is something more than the bad pun on *πάν* and *πᾶν*; he remarks pertinently that in Hellenistic times several minor deities achieved relatively prominent places (p. 63; he instances Hekate and Tyche, but might have made use of the somewhat earlier advancement of Asklepios).

However, the chief feature of the work is the discussion, well illustrated and with careful references for the sources of the illustrations, of the representations in art of Pan and a few figures connected with him, from what is practically a he-goat on its hind legs, through the interesting construction of a credible figure half-human, half-bestial (he has some remarks, p. 51, on the genius of the Greeks for doing this very thing), then the modifications, such as they were, of late classical art, and so to the moderns, including the artists of the Renaissance. A good deal of space is given

to the fantastic and rather fascinating works of the Swiss painter Böcklin.

Interesting points are the story of the death of Pan (p. 70; he connects him with dying and rising gods of the well-known type, which the reviewer doubts, as such deities are non-Greek and agricultural and, as the author rightly says [p. 17 sq.] Pan is pure Greek and a god of herdsmen), and the quaint post-classical developments (pp. 70, 71), which connect him with the devil and also with Christ. Of mistakes of fact there seem to be none of the least importance.

H. J. ROSE.

**La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste. II. Le Dieu cosmique.** By LÉO R. P. FESTUGIÈRE. Pp. xvii + 610; pl. 1. Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie., 1949.

Father Festugière, one of the two or three persons now alive best qualified to speak about the Hermetic writings, continues his study of them in this volume, which is one of the series known as *Études bibliques*, a title which obviously is given a liberal interpretation. His short introduction covers fairly familiar ground, for he is not interpreting minor details of the *Corpus Hermeticum* itself, but tracing the descent of one of the main ideas running through it. It is well known that the treatises fall into two principal and mutually contradictory groups, in one of which the material universe is good, while in the other it is bad. The former, or optimistic view, is the one studied in this book. It may (cf. p. 75) take either of two shapes, of which the second is perhaps the more characteristically Hermetic. Either the universe is considered to be probably the work of a wise and beneficent God, or gods (the familiar Argument from Design), or it is itself a divine being, and we may, if somewhat loosely (for there seems to be nothing like a cult of the universe, the heavens, or any part thereof, until the third century A.D.), speak of a cosmic religion with a cosmic god.

Hermetism, however, is a system quite lacking in originality. Its treatises are not even original in their form, which derives (I would add 'so far as we can trace it') from those portions of the Platonic dialogues which, like the famous address of Diotima to Sokrates, are a private interview between master and disciple, or a small and select group of disciples; see p. 50 and the whole of Chapter II. It is therefore instructive to trace the descent of such of its teachings as are of the optimistic kind already mentioned, and this is done in great detail in a series of chapters which cover, of necessity, a good deal of ground already well known to students of the history of philosophy. Their justification is that the material is arranged with a view of tracing this one tendency in a way hardly possible to a general history; even so, they are perhaps somewhat verbose. It seems therefore unnecessary to analyse them here in detail; one or two differences of opinion on trivial points will be found in a forthcoming notice of the book in *CR*. The arrangement is as follows.

Chapter IV, which is quite short, treats of Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, and here as elsewhere attention is drawn not only to the resemblances to but the differences from ideas expressed in the *Hermetica*. Chapter IV treats of the *Timaeus* and *Lois*, and the study of the earlier (pre-Aristotelian) period is thus concluded, for the author does not dogmatically say that the *Epinomis* is not Platonic (pp. 196-218), but rather passes the question over (p. 196, note 1), although with fairly evident leanings towards the view that it is not Plato's own, because for his purposes it is enough that it is in accord with the views of the Academy after the master's death. Aristotle is represented chiefly by his lost work *On Philosophy*, and the elaborate discussion of this brings to an end the second part of the book, Chapter IX beginning the third section, with a treatment of the earlier Stoics. With Kleantes (and Aratos, who gets a fairly minute examination) a sort of cosmic religion may be considered to be established.

Part IV bears the general title *Le dogmatisme eclectique*, and its first chapter (XII) reviews the beginnings of eclecticism, not forgetting one of its most important vehicles, the over-popular manuals of philosophy, the ancestors of the doxographies which we still have. Naturally therefore the author goes on to examine the works of the most



eloquent student of such manuals (though not of them only). Cicero, whose philosophical works are given a long and thorough analysis, filling Chapter XIII, in which the author neither attempts the impossible task of making Cicero out to have been an original philosopher nor falls into the opposite error of supposing that his long life, spent in grappling with moral and political problems, left him with nothing of his own to contribute. Chapter XIV devotes nearly sixty pages to expounding the *De mundo* and translating a great part of it from Lorimer's text, there having been, it appears, no good translation in French before. The last author to be considered is Philon of Alexandria.

The omission of several writers, lost or surviving, is deliberate (see pp. xiv, xvi). Some merely say what those analysed had said already; one, Poseidonios, is too imperfectly known for us to be sure what views he had of his own and what he merely repeated after earlier thinkers. The book ends by discussing in three short appendices and a number of addenda several interesting, but minor points.

H. J. Rose.

**Hesiod and Aeschylus** (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, vol. XXX). By F. SOLMSEN. Pp. viii + 230. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1949. 16s.

This book is unassuming in size, but not unimportant. When the full history of the influence of Hesiod, which the author desires, comes to be written, its learned compiler, whoever he may be, will certainly take account of it. Professor Solmsen has decided views of his own, from which one may differ and yet learn more than a little, and strong common sense, in spite of which he occasionally makes apotropaic gestures against some γοργή ἀπαλή from the ghost-world of separatism when he mentions Homer.

The first and perhaps most important chapter in the book is devoted to Hesiod, and treats him from the proper point of view, as an original thinker, whose central idea is (p. 9) the new order introduced by Zeus with Justice for its governing principle. The details are worked out most interestingly, for example, the twofold arrangement of much of the matter, genealogical and cosmological (pp. 58 sqq.) and the early equivalent of logical categories which the former arrangement gives rise to (as p. 80). Perhaps, however, the author's enthusiasm for his subject takes him a little too far when he speaks (p. 64) of 'Plato's debt to Hesiod.' A certain resemblance between their lines of thought is rather to be explained by the fact that they were both Greeks and sought, each after the fashion of his day, to perceive an orderly system in the facts they studied. Those facts, as is well recognised on p. 77, were for Hesiod of two kinds, the data furnished by the canonical writings of his time, the epics and especially Homer, and the influences affecting daily life.

Here and there doubtful interpretations creep in. In poems so loosely constructed as those of Hesiod, the possibility of insertions by a later hand is real, and disputed passages are and probably will always be many. Solmsen accepts the praises of Hekate (p. 51) and rejects, on grounds which seem to me frivolous, the episode of the swallowing of Metis. Now and again he seems to find difficulties which are not there. For instance (p. 28), why should not the Hesperides be children of Nyx, seeing that night and evening are naturally associated ideas? He finds (p. 58) that it is 'difficult to believe' that Hesiod should have stated the subject of his poem in the way he does, *Theog.* 108-10. On the contrary, it is a very good description, taken along with its context, of what the poet is going to say (or, as he expresses it, the Muses are to tell him). Here and there he misinterprets. §246 (see p. 11) says nothing, if construed naturally, about Okeanos being the parent of all things, but merely reiterates that he is the ancestor of all gods, i.e. ὠκεανός is masculine. But such flaws are no more than occasional weaknesses in a generally excellent exposition.

Having dealt, towards the end of the discussion of Hesiod, with that poet's conception of justice (see especially pp. 92-3), he goes on in a brief chapter (pp. 107-23) to treat of Solon, paying naturally most attention to the moralis-

ings in frag. 1 Diehl, but not confining himself to that poem. The handling of the matter is sound, but not particularly striking; there was not much new to say.

Finally, in the longest section of the work (pp. 124-224) he treats of Aeschylus, spending about half the space on the *Prometheus*. Although he accumulates valuable material, I find his work here comparatively disappointing. There are, however, good ideas, as for instance (p. 145) that in *P.V.* both sides are in the wrong, and the suggestion (p. 154) that under Zeus man was to advance in justice, and not, as he appears to do under the guidance of Prometheus, merely in material culture (cf. p. 143). With the rest of the book, an analysis of the *Eumenides*, I can do no more than express general approval. The play had been well enough expounded before; Solmsen follows the soundest views and briefly rejects certain crank sociological theories. To go into minute detail of agreement and disagreement would expand this notice beyond reasonable limits.

H. J. Rose.

**Greek Religious Texts.** Edited by S. A. PALLIS. Pp. xvi + 134. Copenhagen: Branner, 1948.

This is an excellent source-book for lecturers on and students of Greek religion. The texts, which are taken from good modern critical editions when these are available, are arranged under subject-matter, e.g. all those treating of the Eleusinian Mysteries being grouped together, but a list at the beginning of the book gives the date of every author, and when an inscription is cited, its date is given at the head of it. In this way the danger of jumbling together authorities of different ages as if they were of equal weight and all referred to the same facts is conveniently avoided. There are no notes save a brief apparatus criticus to each extract; the alternative would have been to provide a commentary such as would swell the book beyond all reasonable limits for a work of this kind. But a few more pages giving more inscriptional extracts, for instance, some information about Hellenistic mysteries, at Andania and elsewhere, would make a welcome addition. Of really essential literary material little has been omitted.

H. J. Rose.

**Greek Altars, Origins and Typology.** By C. G. YAVIS. Pp. xxii + 266; pl. 39 + 54 text figs. Saint Louis, Missouri: Saint Louis University Press, 1949. \$6.00.

This is a serious attempt to list and classify all known Greek altars or similar structures, including those of the Minoan and Mycenaean periods. The author believes he has succeeded in being 'complete, if not exhaustively so in number, certainly as to types' (p.v.). For these he furnishes a terminology which archaeologists might do well to examine, as its use may save a good deal of space in describing such things as the excavation of a temple or of a house containing a private shrine. An unavoidable result is that most of the book is taken up with dry enumerations, measurements, and the like, which could not be omitted if a clear and accurate idea was to be given of the objects discussed. On such matters as the restoration of lost or partly lost structures, the assignment of a given altar to a particular cult (Olympian or chthonian) and other disputable points, due caution is shown.

One theoretical result, however, is important if correct. The author holds that sacrificial altars, intended for burning the flesh of victims, are comparatively late (pp. vi, 41, 52, 56, 87 sqq.), coming about the time of the Dorian migration. So far he deals with archaeological fact; no early structure capable of being interpreted as an altar is found associated with calcined animal bones or fat-soaked earth or ashes. But when he proceeds to credit the invading Dorians with the introduction, not simply of burning victims on an altar and not, for instance, on a pile of wood on the bare ground, but of animal sacrifice generally, he goes beyond the facts and neglects the strong evidence of Homer that this 'Dorian' custom was familiar Achaian also, to say nothing of the indication from the sacredness of the double axe and the 'horns of consecration' in Crete that victims were quite commonly offered to the deities worshipped there. Such considerations, being positive, must outweigh the merely negative fact that no place has yet been found



where burnt sacrifice was provably offered, save for Cypriote examples (pp. 42 sq.), of neolithic date and belonging to the cult of the dead. The Homeric evidence, however, while making it plain that altars were used for animal sacrifice (e.g. Δ 48-9) not infrequently mentions such an offering without saying that an altar was used (as γ 455 sqq.). Also, it does not tell us if the altars were permanent structures, in any way comparable to the score or so of types which Yavis lists and analyses. Apollo at Delos would seem to have had a permanent one of some kind (ξ 162), but otherwise we are left in doubt.

Use is made (p. 22) of the H. Triadha sarcophagus for Cretan ritual. Probably too late for the author to have read it, Nilsson has plausibly suggested (Κρητικά Χρονικά, 1949, 14) that it represents intrusive Achaean ceremonial and not a native cult at all.

Having made the above exceptions, I think it proper to emphasise that Professor Yavis has written a most valuable work of reference, not to be neglected by anyone who would form a clear idea of what apparatus was in use from Cretan to Hellenistic and Roman times in the Greek area for the worship of Hellenic or pre-Hellenic deities.

H. J. ROSE.

**Cultes populaires de la Thrace: les Anasténaria, la cérémonie du Lundi Pur.** By C. A. ROMAIOS, trans. I. TISSAMÉNO. Pp. xvi + 213; pl. 3 + 1 map. Athens: Institut français d'Athènes, 1949.

This volume, which is No. 18 of the publications of the Institut français d'Athènes, is also the first of a new series, designed to illustrate the continuance of Greek custom and life throughout the ages. It must therefore be a little suspected of *parti pris*; for despite the high scientific repute of Professor Romainos, he, like every other human being, has his personal equation, and being a Greek, is constantly under the natural and understandable temptation to find a native Greek origin for any old custom he observes in his own country. This detracts a little from his explanations of the customs discussed; the value of the descriptions themselves is of course unaffected, and they alone would make any book worth reading.

The (A)nasténaria (the shorter form is that in local use, or more commonly *nesténaria*) are a complex of rites celebrated in a group of villages of N.E. Thrace, the centre of the cult being the village of Kosti. The date is May, the first ceremonials taking place on May 2, and others following for some three weeks. The officiants, who of course are not of the official clergy, for the Church has vainly fulminated for centuries against the whole performance as heretical if not downright pagan, are held in great esteem locally. The three most outstanding features are: an ecstatic dance during which ikons of SS. Constantine and Helena are carried, a firewalk, attested by most respectable observers, medical and other, to be perfectly genuine, and the killing and sharing out to as many as possible of the villagers of a bull or bulls, whose age must be an odd number of years. The earliest full description dates from 1873, but documentary evidence of the existence of something of the kind takes us well back into the Middle Ages, and an ancient origin seems highly probable.

A general resemblance to Dionysiac orgies is obvious; it cannot, however, be said that the detailed proof of this which Romainos attempts is at all cogent. In particular, he fails to note, what some of his own quotations prove (pp. 111 sqq., citing Strabo V, 2, 9, to which he should add Vergil, *A.* XI, 785 sqq., with Servius *ad loc.*, and XII, 2, 7) that the only attested cases of fire-walking in classical antiquity are Italian and Asianic, not Greek.

The rest of the book is on a subject already familiar, to British students especially, from Professor Dawkins' classic description of it, *JHS* 1906, 191 sqq., the rite of the *καθάρσεις* (to give them one of their numerous names; Romainos doubts if they were ever meant to be monks). It is not necessary to say more, therefore, than that the author collects from several good sources further details of this rite itself and of others like it. When he comes to explain it as a ceremony meant to produce fertility, he is no doubt correct, but once more not all his details are convincing, and he falls into an error which is less common now than it once was, that of imagining (p. 173) that because a rite is

of a simple, magical kind, involving no appeal to any deity, it must therefore be of great antiquity, 'predeistic' and prehistoric. As a matter of fact, such performances may originate wherever and whenever there is a community unsophisticated enough to believe readily in magic and practise it for the public good, or survive in one conservative enough to keep up, in earnest or as a traditional piece of fun, the ceremonial of its simpler ancestors, whether they lived a century or several millennia ago. There is also rather too much and too uncritical use made of the works of the late Miss Jane Harrison.

H. J. ROSE.

**The Philosophy of Proclus: the Final Phase of Ancient Thought.** By L. J. ROSÁN. Pp. ix + 271. New York: Cosmos, 1949. \$3.50.

Dr. Rosán's book on Proclus is divided into two main parts. The first, 'Introduction to Proclus' contains a survey of important books and articles on Proclus, a translation, with introduction and notes, of Marinus's 'Life,' and a fairly detailed account of Proclus's own writings. This part of the book will be of great value to all students of ancient philosophy, as it provides a good deal of information, well arranged and clearly presented, which is not easily available elsewhere.

The second part is devoted to a detailed survey of the philosophy of Proclus, to which Dr. Rosán is, as he says himself in his Preface, very sympathetically disposed. This suffers from a rather artificial distinction (into Ontology, Cosmology, and Theology and Ethics) which does not correspond to anything in Proclus's thought or the arrangement of his writings and also from a somewhat unhistorical and uncritical approach. Dr. Rosán does not make very much serious attempt to put Proclus in his historical context or to relate his thought to that of his predecessors, and especially to that of Plotinus: the comparison of Proclus and Plotinus (pp. 227-9) certainly does not suggest that Dr. Rosán has a very good understanding of the thought of the latter, and he does not realise the difference in the intellectual and spiritual stature of the two men. Nor does he anywhere bring out the ways in which the thought of Proclus influenced later philosophers and theologians. And in his account of Proclus's system he is so anxious to demonstrate the coherence and validity of the philosopher's thought that he occasionally goes so far as to suggest the introduction of further elaborations into what one might have thought was already a sufficiently elaborate structure. But in spite of this Dr. Rosán has done students of Neo-Platonism a great service in providing them with a very much fuller and clearer guide to the labyrinths of the *Commentaries* and the *Platonic Theology* (his principal source) than any yet available: though for the study of the basic principles of Proclus's philosophy in their historical setting Dodds's Oxford edition of the *Elements of Theology* remains unsurpassed.

The Greek (or Latin) texts of the most important passages of Proclus referred to in the notes are given in an appendix. There is a full bibliography and adequate indices.

A. H. ARMSTRONG.

**The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion.** 2nd revised edition. By M. P. NILSSON. Pp. xxiv + 656. Lund: Glertup, 1950. Kr. 50.

The revision of this standard work has been very thorough, resulting in a considerably larger volume than the first edition of 1927. That had xix + 582 pages, 113 illustrations in the text, and four plates; this one lacks plates, but has 208 text-figures large and small, the size of page remaining practically the same. But much more important than the mere increase in bulk is the meticulous care with which it has been brought in line, not only with archaeological discoveries since 1927, but with the author's enlargements and reconsiderations of his own views. To take one example, perhaps especially interesting to British students of the subject; the 'Ring of Nestor' and Sir Arthur Evans' interpretation of the figures on it originally occupied a considerable part of the last section of the book,



that dealing with the after-life. It is now relegated to a section (pp. 40 *seq.*) which treats of 'suspect objects' and the view that it is a forgery supported with weighty arguments (especially p. 50). The discussion of the sarcophagus from H. Triadha (chap. xiii) has been enlarged to bring in the author's latest explanation of its anomalies, that it is a native Cretan artist's presentation of the cult of a Mycenaean, not a Minoan worthy. The freshness of the information is helped by the insertion at the end of the prefatory part of the work of two pages of addenda for which no room could be found in the text, the references being to works which appeared after the book was in page-proof. These include Yavis' monograph on Greek altars, reviewed above (p. 91).

The main outlines of the book and the most important conclusions remain unchanged, a testimony to their general soundness in the hands of a scholar who can be as critical of his own works as of another's and is never ashamed to retract what he has published earlier, or to point out where his former views call for modification. Nevertheless, this edition contains so much that is new that it must replace the former one as an indispensable book for all interested in this important branch of the study of ancient religion.

H. J. ROSE.

**Aspects of Social Life in Antioch in the Hellenistic Roman Period.** By G. HADDAD. Pp. 196. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1949. \$2.50.

This thesis is divided into five chapters. The first gives a brief and rather confused account of the importance of Antioch from the Seleucid period to the Arab conquest. The last two are a spirited, if rather naïve, defence of the Antiochenes from the charges of levity, licence, and luxury so often brought against them by ancient and modern historians. Of more value are the second and third chapters, which treat the provenance, numbers, race, and language of the Antiochenes. The author does not, it is true, add much to our knowledge. He does not make full use of the scanty evidence available; in his analysis of Antiochene names, for instance, he uses only the local inscriptions, and does not try to collect the numerous Antiochenes known from literary sources and from inscriptions elsewhere. But he handles his evidence with care and good sense, coming to the conclusion that the terms *Hellene* and *Syrian* have in the Roman period scarcely any racial significance.

A. H. M. JONES.

**Excavations and Researches at Perge.** By A. M. MANSSEL and A. AKARCA. Pp. 68; pl. 23. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1949.

This work is written in Turkish with an English summary of about half the length of the Turkish text. The main finds at Perge were sarcophagi of the second and third centuries A.D., thirty-five of which were discovered, most of them sculptured or inscribed. The more elaborate are of imported marble, in one case Proconnesian, as is stated in the inscription. All but one are 'garland sarcophagi' of slightly differing types; the remaining one belongs to Rodenwaldt's Pamphylian group, and it is possible to give a fuller list of sarcophagi of this group and to confirm the attribution to a Pamphylian workshop, which exported sarcophagi as far as Italy.

Many of the inscriptions contain a version of the formula providing for a fine ranging from 2,500 to 50,000 denarii to the city or the imperial treasury (*τῇ πόλει, τῷ ἱερστάτῳ ταμίῳ, τῷ φιλῳ, τῷ κυριακῷ ταμίῳ*) if the heirs should not securely fasten the sarcophagus, or if any unauthorised person should deposit a burial in it. None the less, all the sarcophagi have been broken open, and secondary inscriptions on some of them witness usurpation. As in other inscriptions of Perge, there are no Anatolian names; of eighty-three names recorded, fifty are Greek, thirty-three Latin. One of the inscriptions, to the memory of an *equus Romanus*, is in Latin.

The great glory of Perge was the temple of Artemis Pergaia, but search for its remains was unsuccessful.

T. J. DUNBABIN.

**Hama: Fouilles et recherches de la fondation Carlsberg, 1931-8.II.3: Les cimetières à crémation.** By P. J. RIIS. Pp. xvi + 260; pl. 12 + 242 text figs. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1948.

The plan of publication of the Danish excavations at Hama on the Orontes, of which this is the first part, envisages four volumes, some to be divided into separately published parts. Hama has a very long history, and most periods between the neolithic and the Arab were touched in the excavations. But the cremation cemeteries, with which this volume is alone concerned, belong to a limited period, the early Iron Age (c. 1200-720 B.C.). Some 1670 funeral deposits of this period were found, so their presentation in a practical form offered problems which the author has successfully overcome.

The first interest of the Hellenist will lie in the evidence of intercourse between Syria and the Aegean. In two deposits were found fragments of Cycladic cups with pendent concentric semicircles below the rim (like those found at al Mina, *JHS* 1940, 3, fig. 1a-k). Others were found on the citadel of Hama, in the stratum which represents the city destroyed by Sargon in 720 B.C. In the same period—eighth century, possibly extending back into the ninth—Cypriot vases and fibulas of Cypriot type are also found in fair quantities.

The pottery is for the most part of local Syrian types and origins. But at the beginning of the Iron Age (twelfth century) Dr. Riis observes an appreciable amount of Late Mycenaean or submycenaean influence in both shapes and decoration. Further signs of Aegean, or in some cases it may be European, influence at this time are the appearance of fibulas, of slashing swords (*Griffzungenschwörter*), perhaps of amber, and, according to Dr. Riis, of cremation. A useful section examines the early appearances of cremation in Greece and the Near East, and concludes that it was a European custom, introduced at the time of the migrations. It must be observed, however, that the earliest instances of cremation in Anatolia belong to the full Bronze Age (Troy VI, Yasili Kaya, and in a Boghaz Keuy text); the recently discovered traces of purification by fire at Kültepe (*First Annual Report of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara*, 1948-9, p. 20), together with instances of the same rite in Mycenaean burials in the Argolid, may suggest that cremation developed in Anatolia rather than in Greece, from this rite, and spread outward with the use of iron. However, in Syria cremation is intrusive, at Hama as on other sites, and is introduced with iron as a consequence of the migrations at the beginning of the Dark Ages. It is at the same time that cremation is introduced to Athens; and there are other parallels in the burial rites at Hama and in the Kerameikos, in the deposit of iron weapons in men's graves (the swords are of the same type) and in the use of rough stones as grave markers. The submycenaean character of some of the pottery at Hama has been remarked on. This is a belated effect of the Late Mycenaean expansion to Cyprus and the Syrian coast. But the similarities of burial rite in Early Iron Age Syria and Attica should be due to a common influence from a third area or, perhaps, to related elements in the population of these areas. It may be that the common element is derived, not from the Balkans or Central Europe, but from eastern Anatolia, where the Iron Age began.

The general level of culture at Hama in this period was not high and most of the objects are of a 'utility' nature. The meticulous way in which all classes of objects are presented and discussed is the more laudable, and should make the book very useful for workers in neighbouring fields. But there are goods things; for instance, the fine ivory goblet with handle in the form of an ibex, already known from the preliminary report, and the gilt bronze figurine of a seated god wearing a horned tiara.

T. J. DUNBABIN.

**Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen und Höflichkeitstiteln im Griechischen (Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum XV, 3).** By H. ZILLIACUS. Pp. 111. Helsingfors: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1949.

The use of abstract titles of courtesy ('your transparency') of which Ernest Bramah has taught us to consider the Chinese outstanding exponents, has been examined more



than once in its older flowering in the Byzantine Empire, but never, Dr. Zilliaceus states, from the background of purely linguistic history. In this charming and unassuming essay he seeks to fill this gap. He starts by working forward from classical and early Hellenistic Greek in order to discover the ancestry of Byzantine diction and usage, and to trace an organic development of style. Positive results here are meagre: a *λεπὴ ἰς Τηλεμάχου, ἢ ὡς κοινὸν αὐτάδελφον* 'leptōns kōpa may show a potential predisposition in the language itself towards an overloaded honorary style. But the case of Latin will prevent our taking 'potential predispositions' too seriously. Zilliaceus quotes with approval Marouzeau's dictum 'the history of the Latin language can in a sense be summed up in the conquest of the abstract': and yet this supposedly concrete language offers a *Maiestas tua* applied by Horace to Augustus (*Ep.* II, 1, 258) at a time when there is no question of Greek influence, and a widespread use of abstract forms of address in the fourth century. 'Divinitas vestra venerandam purpuram suam adorare iussit' writes Abinnaeus to the joint emperors Constant and Constantius in A.D. 340, *JEA* 1928 p. 320 (*Divinitas* is missing from Zilliaceus' list of abstract titles. I presume its Greek equivalent is θεότης). When, however, he reaches the Roman and Byzantine periods, Zilliaceus has many thoughtful remarks to make. Mention may be made of his preliminary discussion of Byzantine stylistic in his first chapter, enlarged later in examining the ecclesiastical letters of the fourth century; the use of P. Oxy. 2131 of A.D. 207 τῆς γὰρ σῆς μεγαλειότητος ἵστω ἐπεφύδαίνε τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς . . . περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῖς (it may be added that such a phrase is an essential part of the *pro forma* in appeals to authority) to show the shortness of the step from the concept of an official's omnipotence to addressing him as the incarnation of that omnipotence. An analysis of terms used in the fourth century enables Zilliaceus to separate in the epistolary manual that goes under the name of Libanius those model letters which are fourth century products from the later accretions. The essay concludes with an *index locorum* and a list of titles discussed. Incidentally, the Latin letter quoted on p. 55 is to be dated to c. A.D. 320; a tattered duplicate of it and other papers concerning Theophanes of Hermopolis are in the John Rylands library in Manchester.

E. G. TURNER.

**Fuad I University Papyri (Publications de la Société Fouad I de Papyrologie, Textes et Documents VIII).** Ed. by D. S. CRAWFORD. Pp. vii + 138. Alexandria: Société Fouad Ier de Papyrologie, 1949.

In 1931 a collection of Greek papyri (in part already published) which was formerly the property of O. Gradenwitz was purchased by the Fuad I University in Cairo. Mr. D. S. Crawford exploits this collection in his book. He prints 43 unpublished texts in full, describes or extracts from some 300 more and revises those already published. All the texts are documents with the exception of three unimportant Homeric scraps, and one described as 'theological' (magical?). In compiling this catalogue, the editor has perforce had to work his way through the tiny scraps found at the bottom of the barrel in every papyrus collection. It is a task to try the powers and patience of an expert, and Mr. Crawford is a newcomer. It should therefore be said straightway that the attempt is a meritorious one. He has laboured to understand these ἀποσπομαίνοντα, often poses a new problem or makes interesting remarks on new terms (e.g. on δακτυλοκλίβιν, an object familiar to archaeologists). Nevertheless, the difficulties have not been mastered. The editor's palaeographical equipment is insufficient to allow any attempt at close dating of the hands concerned: in spite of his sceptical remarks on p. iv, documentary hands can be dated within narrower limits than he allows. His transcriptions do not always create confidence (e.g. it is impossible to believe in his no. xxxiv) and there are no photos to serve as a check. It is therefore all the more to be regretted that he has unnecessarily handicapped his readers with an exploded method of presentation: the Greek transcripts are printed without accent, breathings, capital letters or punctuation, though the words are divided; trifling notes

on matters of diplomatic and important ones on matters of substance play hide and seek with each other and with such translations as are given; Roman, not arabic numerals are used for serial numbers; the papyri instead of being arranged throughout either by publication numbers in a logical order or else by inventory numbers are dealt with by a mixture of both, making reference a tortuous and verbose business; there is no concordance table of present inventory numbers and places of previous publication, so that it is a tedious investigation to discover whether this edition makes any important revision. All this is reminiscent to the reviewer of the infuriating vexations of the Petrie Papyri, which after all were published 60 years ago, before Grenfell and Hunt worked out a technique of presentation which has been universally accepted as a model.

There are several interesting texts in the collection, but the short compass of this review will permit only one to be singled out. No. XIV is the top portion of a letter of the early third century A.D. addressed to a strategus of the Memphite nome by an ex-epimeletes of Memphis who is also κλειδοφύλαξ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα θεάτρου. The text from l. 5 runs: 'Ἐπὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Ἀννουβίου φρουροῦ τοῦ ἐπιτοῦχοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ (read ἐπὶ τοῦ, and compare, for instance, P. Oxy. 1469, 7 δ ἐπὶ τοῦ τῶν χωμάτων ἐπιστάμενος) θυρώων ἐπιδημήσαντος τοῖς ἀστέροις (read -θι) μετακλήσω με καὶ ἐπύθου εἰ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἀπετέθησαν θυρώνας κτλ. The editor suggests the possibility that θυρώνας means 'some sort of stage scenery', and one thinks of the θυρώματα (see A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Theatre of Dionysus at Athens*, Index) in the Delphic theatre lists. But what is a *frumentarius* doing here? Now θεάτρον at this time may equally well be applied to an amphitheatre, and it is in fact tempting to connect this *frumentarius* with preparations made for Caracalla's proposed tour of the Empire. Dio Cassius 77, 9, 6-7 relates πρὸς τὴν καὶ θεάτρα κυνηγετικά καὶ ἱπποδρόμους ποταχού, δπουτοῦ καὶ ἐχέμεσαν ἢ καὶ χειμάσαν ἥλιος, κατεσκεύασμεν, μὴδὲν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντες. If this view is on the right lines, θυρών might mean some kind of container (for wild beasts? with trap doors?).

The following observations on individual texts are the fruit of a first perusal. No. VI (same correspondents as in P. Oxy. 1069): in l. 4 and 7 < > brackets are falsely used for { }. L. 4 is presumably to be understood as ἀπὸ τῶ ἀρσενίου ποσίδι. L. 6 ἑγγαρίης γενεαμένης does not mean 'the post left'. No. VII, l. 7: since the papyrus is incomplete, divide οἱ κω, restoring e.g. οἱ κω [πρὸς]. The suggestion that οὐκ = οἱ is phonetically unconvincing. No. XIII, l. 8: καὶ at the beginning of line, if correctly read, points to an omission by the scribe. No. XXIII 19-22: in this tantalising date by Carinus and Numerianus without Carus (the year number not being made out), unless there is a further blunder by the scribe, Carinus is distinguished as *imperator* and Numerianus as *nobilissimus Caesar* though both are *Augusti*.

E. G. TURNER.

**Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à Charles Picard à l'occasion de son 65e anniversaire (Revue Archéologique xxix et xxx).** Pp. xliii + 1120; numerous text figs. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949. 3000 fr.

The width of M. Picard's interests is reflected in the fine volumes presented to him on his sixty-fifth birthday. The articles range in time and subject from ancient Egypt to medieval France, and many of them, perhaps most, have their starting-point in an observation made by the master. As there are 108 articles (and a few others which could not appear in the *Mélanges* have been printed in *Rev. Arch.* for 1949), it is impossible to do more here than give a brief note of those which concern Greek studies, passing over those which deal with Egypt or the Near East, Rome or Gaul, or medieval subjects.

*Prehistoric.* C. Delvoye contributes an important paper on the oriental origin of neolithic seal-stamps of the Greek mainland. N. Platon writes on M.M. I bell-idols, publishing objects from his excavations at Poros near Heraklion. P. Demargne discusses Minoan female dress, beginning from a M.M. III seal-impression from Mallia. E. Chapoutier publishes a Linear A inscription on a clay roundel, also from Mallia. H. Gallet de Santerre deals



with the relations of Delos, Crete and the Mainland in the second millennium; he holds that Delos first became an important centre of population in the L.H. I period, from which relations with the Mainland are attested by finds of pottery. C. Schaeffer writes on the Mycenaean walls of Enkomi, which belong, according to the pottery found in his excavations there, to the late fourteenth or thirteenth century.

**Sculpture.** C. H. Emilie Haspels discusses the colossal kriophoros of Thasos. Miss G. M. A. Richter adds epigrama to her *Archaic Attic Gravestones*, concerned mainly with the Kerameikos and Boston sphinxes. E. Coche de la Ferté writes on the relief Athens 3131, which perhaps comes from the pediment of the archaic temple of Dionysos Eleuthereus. Mlle. Simone Besques publishes the head of an archaic Attic marble kouros, now in Antien. H. P. L'Orange deals with a head known in a number of copies derived from a fifth century bronze, which, he thinks, represented Pausanias with his beard knotted in Persian fashion. J. Bérard publishes three terracotta heads of the early fifth century, one Sicilian, the other two probably from Medma, and related to Pythagoras. R. Lefort des Ylouses writes on 'Le galop du Parthénon' (a mixed action, impressionist rather than photographically realist). J. Pouillon treats reliefs from Thasos figuring a torch race with clubs, perhaps part of the *Heracleia*. G. P. Stevens illustrates a model of the Monument of the Lion of Amphipolis. A. W. Lawrence treats generally of turning points in Hellenistic sculpture, à propos of Pliny *N.H.* xxxiv. 52: *cessavit deinde ars*. P. Lévêque offers an identification of the combatants on the frieze of the monument of Aenilius Paulus at Delphi. J. Marcadé writes on Parthenokles of Athens, a third century sculptor, known from three inscriptions; R. Martin, on a signature of Praxias son of Praxias, of Athens, found at Thasos.

**Inscriptions.** As well as the artists' signatures just mentioned, other epigraphical articles are those of G. Daux on *IG XII, Suppl.* (1939), 347, a Thasian inscription relating to the wine trade; F. Sokolowski on the treaty between Delphi and Skiathos (*BCH* 1939, 183 ff.); A. Plassart, publishing inscriptions from Thespiai; M. Launey on an inscription of Ptolemy VI Philometor from Methana (*IG IV, 854*), adding an unpublished inscription from Delos naming the same person (Eirenaïos, not, as is read in *IG IV, 854, l. 4, [T] i [m] aios*).

**Coins.** H. Seyrig publishes an archaic double octodrachm of a city of Chalcidice (lion's mask; incuse square). J. Babelon's paper on the Dioscuri at Tomi draws most of its material from coins. J. Bayet in a valuable paper traces Italic style and types in Julio-Claudian coinage. L. Lauro identifies statues on Roman coins of Corinth, treating coins which illustrate two statues or a group.

**Vases.** F. Villard publishes a reconstituted Attic geometric crater in the Louvre; P. Dikaïos an Iron Age Cypriot cup with compact geometric decoration and a frieze of birds. P. Amandry collects fire-breathing chimerae, beginning with a Corinthian aryballos in Athens. G. Roux writes on Heracles and Cerberus on a black-figured amphora in the Louvre (F 34). H. Metzger publishes an Attic calyx-crater of the early fourth century (Berlin inv. 3974), representing a scene from Euripides' *Telephos*.

Other iconographical studies are those of W. Déonna on 'the lions tied to the column', tracing the motive from an Oriental origin through Minoan-Mycenaean art to Romanesque times; Anna Roes on 'l'aigle psychopompe de l'époque impériale'—the Greek and Oriental history of the motive of a god or goddess riding on a bird; with the last may be taken A. Dessenne's discussion of a mirror recently found at Anzio, whose subject he identifies as Aphrodite on a swan. Another fine fourth century mirror, perhaps Corinthian, in the collection of Mme. Stathatos in Athens, is published by G. P. Oikonomos; he identifies the subject as Achilles killing Troilus. W. Vollgraff treats Theocr. xv. 100 f. and the Cypriot Aphrodite; R. Petazzoni the Cerberus of Serapis; Germaine Cart, Triptolemos on two lamps in the Louvre.

Among the papers dealing with *cult* are H. Grégoire on Bacchus in bull's form; F. Vian on the Panathenaic peplos in Apollodoros, *mpl θεῶν* (*FGH II, B, 1072, F 105*); S.

Eitrem on the *Ephidauria* at Eleusis. R. Schilling illustrates the *Arrhephoria* from a passage of Martial (iii.68.8).

**Topography.** Many papers already mentioned deal with topographical points, particularly connected with the French School excavations at Delos, Delphi and Thasos. Other topographical papers are: J. Delorme, on the identification and chronology of the Palastras at Delos (the Granite Palaestra being dated after the middle of the second century B.C. by stamped amphora handles); P. de La Coste Messelière's careful account of the Delphian offering of the Tarentines over the Messapians (cf. Paus. x.10.6); L. Lerat's 'Krisa' (Krisa prehistoric, Kirrha archaic and classical; analysis of the literary sources, taken with the results of the French excavations; archaic Kirrha not yet found). H. van Effenterre discusses fortified strongholds in East Crete, some with graffiti on the rocks of ships, archers and short inscriptions. Another Cretan paper is by G. D. Stergiopoulos on the threefold division of Crete ascribed by Strabo (*C. 476*) to Minos; he finds that this corresponds not to anything in Minoan times but to the Hellenistic rivalry of Knossos, Gortyn and Kydonia.

P. M. Duval's paper on Greek and Roman ships does not fit into any of the categories so far established. He illustrates from representations of ships the development in the same general form from Greek to Roman, and the innovations and greater elaboration of Roman examples (in some cases, following Hellenistic models). There are more representations of Roman ships than of Greek of the classical period; one, in the form of a column base, in the Terme, is published by J. Le Gall.

**History.** P. Cloché offers 'Remarques sur les étapes de l'ambition d'Antigone 1er jusqu'en 316 avant J.C.' J. Tréheux deals with the last years of Delos under the amphictyons, offering a table of archons for the years 326-315. To an earlier period relate F. Chamoux' paper on the Antenorids at Cyrene, referring to Pind. *Pyth.* v. 82 ff. (holds that the Greek colonisation of Cyrene was thought by Pindar and his contemporaries to precede the Trojan War; cf. the early Eusebian date); and Y. Béguignon on Apollo's usurpation at Delphi, Ptoion and Thebes, in each place accompanied by Athena Pronaia.

Other papers whose topic is mainly literary (though many of those already mentioned combine literary and archaeological evidence) are by F. Robert, on the origin of the word 'tragedy'; L. Roussel on the stage in the classical Greek theatre (he believes in a wooden stage); H. Jeanmaire on satyrs and Maenads, referring to Plato *Laos* 815 c; P. M. Schuhl on 'Le joug du bien, les liens de la nécessité et la fonction d'Hestia', on *Rep.* vi. 506 ff. and other passages of Plato. J. Bousquet's treatment of Callimachus fr. 197 Pf. and the throne of the Herms of Samothrace is a good example of the profit which an archaeologist may bring to the interpretation of Callimachus.

**Medieval Greece.** Among the papers on medieval and modern subjects are A. Bon on the capture of Kalamata by the Franks in 1205; J. Longnon also on the Fourth Crusade, in a more general paper called 'Domination franque et civilisation grecque'; M. Th. Schmitter-Picard on silk-workers. J. Carcopino throws light on the *Periplus* of Hanno from a Greek portulan of the sixteenth century. B. Pace finds a survival of the cult of Apollo at the monastery of Panermos in Syme.

Only half the contents of these two volumes have been enumerated in this already too long and jejune summary. It remains to wish M. Picard many years to enjoy the continuation of his studies and to hope that the papers offered in homage by his friends and pupils may strike from him some of those characteristically enlightening sparks in which his works, the bibliography of which is here printed, have been so rich.

T. J. DUNBRAIN.

**Recherches sur les armées Hellenistiques.** By M. LAUNÉY. Pp. xi + 624. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1949.

Much labour has gone to the making of this book. The writer's aim is to study the army as an element in the society of the Hellenistic world, and he conceives his investigation in two stages. Firstly, the very size of the 'human masses' put into action by the warring states poses the problem



of the needs of those states in man-power. How did they meet these needs, from what areas, and for what length of time from the various reservoirs? 'Military demography', in fact, is the first problem he tackles. It fills the whole of this book and will spill over into a second. It is hinted that the next volume will also contain a prosopography of the foreign elements in the armies, wider than the well-known *Auswärtige Bevölkerung* of F. Heichelheim in that it will refer to all the Hellenistic kingdoms, narrower since it will deal only with military personnel. This second volume will then proceed to the second stage: the contacts of these mercenary armies with the cities and the rest of the population of the states in which they were billeted or settled on the land; the attitude adopted towards the soldier, his standard of living, prestige and popularity; the institutions such as gymnasia, societies, religious traditions by which armies maintained their individuality, and the clash of cultures which resulted. What he does not intend to do is to examine the military organisation of different states, their recruiting methods and the internal structure of their armed forces; or even inside his chosen field to discuss the civic and national armies (e.g. the Macedonian forces of the Antigonids, or the Egyptian soldiers of the Ptolemies).

The theme discussed in this volume has not previously been discussed synthetically on so ample a scale. G. T. Griffiths' admirable *Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World* compresses it into less than 20 pages. Professor de Launey aims at a complete collection of the evidence, and his 'researches' are clearly based on an enormous card-index. It is not, however, merely tipped out into his writing. Every fact is weighed for its own sake, and ordered in perspective. Particularly welcome in the collection of evidence is the attention given to the archaeological monuments and their information concerning details of equipment and tactics. It is to be hoped that the second volume (with a generous index) will not long be delayed.

The enquiry opens with an essay in statistics. The author analyses in turn inscriptional lists of soldiers (the Lilaia inscriptions, still alas! unpublished, yield different results from those given by Griffiths), non-clerical documents containing ethnics, the military colonisation of the Arsinoite nome, the military population of Egypt and the inventories of historians with a certain coherence of results. In all the armies 'the pure Greek element drops brutally about 200 B.C. and practically disappears. . . . The Macedonians hold their own better, not through immigration which was certainly interrupted, but through a greater racial vitality and fecundity. The second and first centuries show, at least in Egypt, a great upsurge of Semites.' From the general he then proceeds to the particular, and discusses the different recruiting areas—the Peloponnese, Central and North West Greece, the Islands, Macedonia, Balkan Peoples, Asia Minor, Gauls, Semites and Iranians, Africa and the West. Here are considered such questions as: who are the men who emigrate? When and why? What are their special national habits and skills and their individual aims?

One point may perhaps be taken up in the limited space here available. Much of the argument necessarily depends on the acceptance of ethnics in the papyri, and the author is well aware that the ground quakes under his tread. He interprets *Μακεδών* as used in the later second century as a mark of 'promotion to a superior military rank which conferred on its bearer the ethnical prestige of the conquerors' (p. 326), and he writes of the career of Dionysius, son of Apollonius, who is called *Μακεδών* in 108 B.C. after being simply *Πίρως* in 112, 110, and 109, that 'there is a change of ethnic consequent on military advancement.' It may be doubted whether this too is not a false trail through the jungle, and whether after all juridical status, not military rank or organisation, is not the basis of these pseudo-ethnics. In a contract of 78 B.C. to be published in P. Rylands Vol. IV acknowledgement of repayment of a debt is made to two persons *Μακεδών, καθὼς δὲ συνήλ[α]ψεν Π[ρ]ωτῶν τῆς [μ]υωνῆς*, that is, the characterisation as *Πίρως τῆς ἰμυωνῆς* denoted a judicial fiction, presumably entailing a diminution of rights voluntarily submitted to by debtors. Now the same formula is almost certainly to be restored in P. Reinach 25, l. 3 (also the cancellation

of a debt), *Μακεδών*, ὡς δὲ [πρότερον συνήλ]αψε Πίρως τῆς ἰμυωνῆς. This person is quoted several times by de Launey (e.g. p. 325 n. 3; 326 n. 2; 575) as *Πίρως τῆς ἰμυωνῆς* simply, the reference to him as *Μακ[εδών]* being treated as a *lapsus*. Our restoration precludes this glossing over of the problem. Moreover, as the man is also described as *βασιλευδὴς γεωργός* (i.e. not a soldier) it is hard to conceive of him earning the title *Μακεδών* by military promotion.

E. G. TURNER.

**Griechische Plastik.** By C. WEICKERT. Pp. 77; 44 text figs. + map. Berlin: Verlag G. Mann, 1946.  
**Antike Terrakotten.** By G. BRUNS. Pp. 50; 33 text figs. + map. Berlin: Verlag G. Mann, 1946.

The intelligent layman is not an easy person to write for; he will either be bewildered by technicalities or infuriated by the assumption that he knows nothing. He is however admirably catered for by these two books, which are in the best tradition of German scholarship.

Both authors treat their subject chronologically; which is the only reasonable method for the non-technical reader. And both tend to confine their attention, as well as their plates, to objects in Berlin. This is perhaps a pity as the result is neither a catalogue nor a complete history, and the novice is left in ignorance of much that is unrepresented there. Something, for instance, should have been said of the Daedalic figures (in clay and stone), and the rich series of terracottas from Sicily, Locri and Tarentum.

Of the two books, that on sculpture is the more factual. Prof. Weickert gives plenty of dates, which are more important as milestones for the layman than the expert. The three female figures used to illustrate the development of sculpture during the sixth century are admirably described and illustrated, and the early fourth century is especially well represented. If Dr. Bruns is slightly less objective, she is writing on a subject that seems to invite imprecise thinking, and which has not of late been given the attention it deserves. Her study of the methods of firing and decoration could scarcely be bettered, nor could her selection of plates, except for fig. 19, which looks suspiciously like a forgery.

It is a pity that the plates are not equipped with invoice or catalogue numbers and that a short bibliography has not been added. The reader will undoubtedly be tempted to enquire further, and he should be helped as much as possible.

The authors of this series are to be congratulated on producing something scholarly, readable, concise and well illustrated.

R. A. HIGGINS.

**Antike Münzen.** By K. LANGE. Pp. 50; 68 text figs. + map. Berlin: Verlag G. Mann, 1947.

This small book comprises 69 illustrations—mostly in 2-diameter enlargement—of ancient coins, with a running commentary which in effect sketches the history of ancient coinage from its beginnings until the period of Constantine I. The illustrations are taken from first-class specimens, which were all in the Berlin collection and will make many realise what a loss Western scholarship has suffered in the removal (since the War) of that collection from Berlin to a destination at which we can only guess.

Enlarged photographs are, alike for the numismatist and the general reader, a splendidly convincing medium for displaying the art of the ancient die-cutter: and since that art was most often manifested in the portrayal of the features of gods or rulers, one is content that the author should have concentrated on this aspect of it. Nevertheless, the general reader may infer that portraiture is almost the entire interest of ancient coins as an art: whereas, the inclusion of, for instance, one or two Tarentine 'horsemen', or of Roman architectural compositions would have helped to give greater variety and a more complete view.

As for the text, one has no complaints, except that the name of Agathocles, the Bactrian king shown in fig. 37, should not be omitted; and that it seems a pity to repeat the 'Traditional' account of the earliest Roman Coinage, in face of the weighty reasons given for its rejection by Mattingly and Robinson sixteen years ago.

G. K. JENKINS.



**Antike Bronzen.** By G. BRUNS. Pp. 68; 46 text figs. + map. Berlin: Verlag G. Mann, 1947.

**Römische Skulpturen.** C. BLÜML. Pp. 68; 38 text figs. + map. Berlin: Verlag G. Mann, 1946.

These two little paper-bound books come from the series 'Antiken aus den Berliner Museen' which records in word and picture some of the best things in the pre-war Berlin collections. Simply written and orthodox they are designed for the general reader rather than the specialist; but since it looks like being a long time before the Berlin museums are reinstated and accessible again, specialists too will be glad to have these convenient mementos by them. Criticism of their contents is hardly called for. One slip in Gerda Brun's book is perhaps worth noting: the Minoan praying lady (fig. 1) is certainly not unfinished; the fact that the metal has not been touched after casting agrees with usual Minoan practice. In *Römische Skulpturen*, divided into portraits, reliefs and copies, historical reliefs receive less attention than their importance in Roman art deserves; but that is a lack in the collection rather than the author. In general the wealth of the Berlin collections is amply clear from the balance and continuity with which both books have been able to be planned. Pictures and production are remarkably good for Berlin, 1946-47.

D. E. L. HAYNES.

**The Greek Philosophers from Thales to Aristotle.**

By W. K. C. GUTHRIE. Pp. v + 168. London: Methuen, 1950. 5s.

For its purpose, the giving of some understanding of Greek philosophy up to and including Aristotle to readers who know no Greek and little about the ancient world, it would be very hard to find a better introduction than Mr. Guthrie's little book in the Home Study series. It is an admirable example of the right sort of elementary book, written by a specialist scholar of high accomplishment who has digested his scholarship well and can write attractively. The account of the Pre-Socratics in chapters II and III is certainly the best and most sensible short account available in English of these thinkers, who are so particularly difficult to explain to modern readers. The way in which Plato is presented in his historical context is another good feature of the book, and the two chapters on Aristotle are extremely clear and within their narrow limits of space remarkably complete. The introductory chapter on 'Greek Ways of Thinking' should be particularly useful to the readers for whom the book is intended, especially in its discussions of the meaning of the Greek words *aretē*, *dike*, and *theos* (Mr. Guthrie naturally transliterates for his Greekless readers). Perhaps in repeating and expanding Willamowitz's dictum that *theos* has primarily a predicative force it would have been well to point out that after all the Greeks did apparently start with a class of very substantial beings with well-defined characteristics which they called *theoi*, even if they did apply the word widely and freely to any sort of everlasting superhuman power; in other words *theos* was surely a substantive before it was a predicate. Perhaps the division of all philosophers into materialists and teleologists, matter-philosophers and form-philosophers is rather too much of a simplification (though it works quite well for the Pre-Socratics) and would not be very easy to apply to later schools (on which side of the line do the Stoics come, for instance?). Mr. Guthrie's closing remarks (p. 161) suggest that he still holds the view of the decadence of Hellenistic thought which till quite recently was almost universal among classical scholars. There is room for high debate here, and the revaluation of Hellenistic civilisation and thought, and still more that of the later Roman Empire, which is now going on ought to lead to some interesting and perhaps valuable discussions and comparisons.

A. H. ARMSTRONG.

**Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis: a Catalogue of the Inscriptions of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B.C.** By A. E. RAUBITSCHKE, with the collaboration of L. H. JEFFERY. Pp. xv + 545. Cambridge, Mass.: Archaeological Institute of America, 1949.

In the present volume, dedicated to Professor B. D. Meritt, the author, who pays a warm tribute to the valuable

assistance received from Miss L. H. Jeffery, gives a detailed account, illustrated by 334 photographs and sixty-six drawings, of 393 inscribed monuments of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., together with two (nos. 135a, b) of a later date, dedicated on the Athenian Acropolis. It is a sheer delight to handle a work so convenient in format, so admirably printed, adorned with such superb photographs and with line-drawings of such clarity and skill. And the substance is wholly worthy of the form. The classification is not, as in Friedländer's *Epigrammata*, metrical, for many of these dedications are in prose or so fragmentary that their metrical nature cannot be determined, but material—column-dedications, low bases, pillar-monuments, stelae, altars and basins. Each section of the catalogue opens with a short introduction, and the invaluable appendices contain full discussions of (a) the formulae of the inscriptions, (b) technical aspects of the early Attic dedications (material, direction of writing, stichedon order, punctuation, spelling, script, etc.), (c) their historical significance, and (d) the thirty sculptors whom they name. The catalogue, drawn up with infinite care and an unrivalled command of the relevant evidence, records the provenance and present location of each item with dimensions and characteristics of the stone, followed by a complete, sometimes almost overwhelming, bibliography, the text of the inscription and an adequate commentary. The work closes with a full epigraphical index, a table of concordance and a list of inscriptions studied or emended. Experience warns us against claiming finality for any book, but it is hard to imagine that the present work will ever be superseded. No doubt it will arouse further discussion of some of its contents, and so pave the way for progress in their study and interpretation; but the thoroughness with which the Acropolis has been examined precludes the hope that many additions will be made to the class of documents with which it deals.

The work is not indeed faultless. Errors of accentuation and punctuation are not infrequent, but it would serve no useful purpose to register them here. Many of the restorations accepted or suggested are open to doubt, though the repeated insistence of the author that the texts he offers are uncertain does much to disarm criticism. I confine myself to brief notes on a few points. No. 13. A fresh treatment of this much debated and historically interesting epigram will appear shortly in *BSA*.—No. 76. While fully agreeing that 'restorations different from those previously given are in fact possible,' I cannot bring myself to regard as even possible, much less probable, the version here presented of the Phayllus dedication.—No. 148. Διωνύσιος | τό]δ' ἀγάλμα as the end of a hexameter seems to me a metrical monstrosity and I much prefer Friedländer's Διωνύσιος | τῷ]δ' ἀγάλμα (*op. cit.* 124) mentioned by R.—No. 167. I doubt the restored phrase τὸ δῆμο δόξαντος, for which I know no parallel.—No. 190. οὐ χ]όρον ἀντίδω is metrically impossible, for οὐ must be short; χόρον ἀντίδω is used in votives of the dedicator (cf. no. 218) who returns thanks to the deity for blessings received, or of the deity who is asked to bestow favour on the votary for the offering made. Here δὲ χόρον ἀντίδω would give correct sense and metre. In 245 R. writes οὐ χ]όρον ἀντίδω, but the index gives ἀντίδω; either form of the verb is possible, but not οὐ.—No. 202. I cannot accept ἀ]ντίδω from τῷ]νιόν (ἀπαρχήν) as the end of a hexameter. Is this perhaps the earliest extant example of the use of χτ = ξ to represent the fusion of the κ of τκ with the opening σ of the following word (see *AJP* LXVII. 329 ff.)?—No. 218. In l. 4 R. writes τόνδε χόρον[ισμ] for the τόνδε χόρον[ισμ] of IG I<sup>2</sup>. 625; but this is unmetrical (as is also the Μένανδρος εὐκόν' ἔσαν) suggested in l. 1) and leaves τόνδε unexplained. If τόνδε refers to the dedicated statue (cf. nos. 76, 87, 133, 226, 322), χόρον[ισμ] must agree with the dedicant rather than with the deity, and in any case the metre demands the present, not the aorist, participle.—No. 235. Παῖδ[ις] ἀδ[ελφ]ός is unacceptable as the beginning of a hexameter, and I prefer the Παῖδ[ις] τριτογεν[ής] of IG I<sup>2</sup>. 674.—No. 382 (cf. p. 529). Surely Εὐν[ε]ς must be Εὐν[ε]ς.—No. 387. For -- πόνητος the restoration [Σοφ]ρόνητος (suggested by Kirchhoff; found in *Jour. Cret.* I. xvi.5.2) or [Ἀνδ]ρόνητος (which occurs on a single ostrakon) is proposed; it is curious



that [Ἀρ]ρώγης has not been suggested in view of the prominence of a Ἀρρώγης at Athens just about the time, 'shortly after 480 B.C.', to which R. assigns the inscription on the ground of its letter-forms (Hdt. VIII. 21, Thuc. I. 91; for a later Ἀρρώγης see [Dem.] XLIV. 10). But despite these and other points on which I dissent from the author, I have no hesitation in regarding the work as an epigraphical and artistic masterpiece, for the writing of which Raubitschek was uniquely qualified.

M. N. TOD.

**Greek Science, 2: Theophrastus to Galen.** By B. FARRINGTON. Pp. 181. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1949. 1s. 6d.

Readers of Professor Farrington's earlier books, and especially the first volume of the present work, will doubtless have a shrewd idea of what to expect from *Greek Science 2: Theophrastus to Galen*. Professor Farrington will not disappoint them. Compressing more than five centuries of the history of science into a mere 175 pages, he gives us, *mutatis mutandis*, the mixture as before; and a stimulating tonic it unquestionably is.

Professor Farrington has two favourite hobby-horses, both of which he rides whenever he can, and flogs in the process until they are now, if not dead, at least surely moribund. First, there is the conviction that science must be useful; or as he himself puts it (p. 17; cf. pp. 56, 165 *ad.*) 'that science ought not only to give logical answers to puzzling questions but also to lead to desired results in practice.' And second, there is the thesis that the 'paralysis' of ancient science was due to the 'mischievous separation of the logic from the practice of science,' which was itself 'the result of the universal cleavage of society into freeman and slave' (p. 165). This is the twofold message which, with a persistence that would be admirable perhaps if it were not also irritating, he never tires of preaching. And each of these two main contentions lends, of course, a characteristic and pervasive colour to the whole of his work.

It is presumably as the result of the first of these contentions, for instance, that Professor Farrington, in his admittedly interesting section on Theophrastus, tells us virtually nothing at all about what might well be regarded as his greatest contribution to science, his work in the field of botany. Botany in the hands of Theophrastus was not perhaps calculated, directly at least, 'to lead to desired results in practice;' but it is surely none the less valuable a contribution for that. And in the hands of Dioscorides, who has to rest content with a solitary mention and a footnote, the case is altogether different. It seems to me both surprising and disappointing that, even in so brief a book, there should be so large an omission: surprising, because I should have expected that the despised class of ancient *ἰστορίαι*, of whose lore the 9th book of Theophrastus *Historia Plantarum* gives us such fascinating details, was especially deserving of Professor Farrington's social sympathy; and disappointing because, to quote only a single example, there is surely little in the whole history of ancient science more interesting and, even on Professor Farrington's own principles, more important than the custom of the ancients, described by Dioscorides in his paragraph on Mandragoras but apparently never resumed at the Renaissance, of administering an anaesthetic before an operation.

Professor Farrington's second hobby-horse, itself palpably the offspring of his political bias, is sure to a strange brood. There is a dogmatism in his writing, a propensity to unwarrantable generalisation, that can hardly fail to rouse the suspicions of the sceptic. Was Vico really, as he is described on p. 11, 'the most profoundly original of all sociologists before Marx'? Maybe he was; but the manner in which the opinion is presented is liable to win for it at least as many opponents as adherents. Again, is it true, as we are told on p. 112, that 'half the best poetry of antiquity is didactic'? There cannot then be much good poetry in antiquity. There is no need to multiply instances of such utterances: they can be found liberally scattered throughout the book. But one final example will serve to show that on occasions Professor Farrington is swept away by the force of his own propaganda. Is it really true, as we are told on p. 17 of the father of Theo-

phrastus, that the fuller's was 'an important profession in those days'? Again it may be so; but in that case it is palpably false to write, as Professor Farrington does on p. 172, that in the sixteenth century 'chemistry too, which in antiquity had lived an underground existence because its practitioners—the fullers, the dyers, the glass-makers, the potters, the compounders of drugs—were outlawed from society, began to assert its claims to be an honoured science.'

Other defects can be found in Professor Farrington's presentation that are presumably the outcome of the brevity at which he has aimed. There are, for instance, occasional misleading over-simplifications. 'In the Pre-Socratic materialist philosophy,' we read on p. 19, 'motion had been regarded as the mode of existence of matter. Plato, however, had taught the view that matter is essentially inert and that its motion requires explanation.' What then of Empedocles or Anaxagoras who, in answer to Parmenides, had been constrained to introduce, as the initial cause of motion, Love and Strife or *Nous*? Or again on p. 23: 'All that now concerns us in that (i.e. Aristotle's) theory is that it contains no clear differentiation between animals and plants. Aristotle had not succeeded in defining the difference.' That may be true so far as it goes; but others maintain—and in fairness to Aristotle the view deserves mention—that one of Aristotle's great achievements as a biologist was his clear recognition of the continuity of all life, from man at one end of the scale down to plants at the other. Moreover, while we are often given full references to Professor Farrington's sources, there are occasions when, though they are urgently needed, they are tantalisingly withheld. Whereas, for instance, on p. 41 Cicero's comments on Strato, which it would not be difficult to trace, are accompanied by full references, we are on the preceding page left to guess—unless we happen to know already—what is the 'anonymous treatise' in question and who has 'confidently claimed' as Strato the sentences which Professor Farrington quotes. Indeed the whole disproportionately long section on Strato, though little less confident in tone than all the rest, has left at least one reader full of doubts and queries. Some of them might have been more easily resolved with the aid of a few additional references.

I have cited only a few examples to illustrate the peculiar flavour of Professor Farrington's work; many more could be adduced. There is undoubtedly much in the book to which a pedant could, and should, object. Scholarly precision gives place too often to dogmatic propaganda. And yet, when all that is said, there is still no doubt at all that Professor Farrington has performed a valuable service. It is not only scholars of the German type who can advance the cause of learning. There are others, of whom Professors Burnet and Taylor are familiar and shining examples, who by their very heresies infuse a new life and vigour into all they touch. And it may well prove that Professor Farrington belongs to this small and distinguished class. At all events his book will provoke discussion—and that in itself is a valuable achievement; while for those who, like myself, find themselves constantly at variance with his outlook, there is an occasional important truth that it would be unjust and reactionary to overlook. Thus, for instance, Professor Farrington is surely right, even if not perhaps as original as he sometimes is, when on p. 118, having summarised Lucretius' sketch of the origin and progress of civilization, which occupies the second half of book five, he comments as follows: 'Many of the principal features of this sketch of human progress have contributed, and are perhaps even still capable of contributing, to the growth of the science of history. We may note the fundamental importance attached to the achievement of the great technical inventions. Much history still remains to be rewritten in the light of this conception.' It is from suggestions such as this that the book derives its value. It may even be that Professor Farrington himself, as he would no doubt wish, has inaugurated the rewriting, in the light of this conception, of the history of the Graeco-Roman world. But that he has done no more than inaugurate it is certain. In the final version of such a history a clear distinction must be drawn between facts on the one hand and creed or conjecture on the other;



and the facts, which even in such a history must still surely be the pegs from which judgments are suspended, must be allowed, to a greater extent than Professor Farrington is prepared to allow them, to speak for themselves.

J. E. RAVEN.

**Mycenae: an Archaeological History and Guide.**

By A. J. B. WACE. Pp. xviii + 150; pl. 110. Princeton: University Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1949. 120s.

Mycenae is not only a site of prime importance to the prehistorian; nature and the Mycenaean architect have combined to make it one of the most stirring and impressive sites in Greece, and no one interested in the arts can be indifferent to the treasures which its soil still yields to the excavator. From the days of Schliemann too Mycenae has been fortunate in the calibre of the archaeologists who have worked there, and the majority of its monuments have been well studied and fully published. This very richness, however, can be a stumbling-block to the student and the non-specialist—the more so that there has been no lack of controversial writing—and Professor Wace's new book, designed, as he states in the Preface, 'as an introduction to Mycenae and its civilisation', will fulfil a very real need. Those who need no 'introduction' will welcome in it not only the results of the 1939 excavations, here given at greater length than in the first report in *JHS* LIX, but also the re-statement of earlier results and conclusions, mainly those of *BSA* XXV, in the light of subsequent discoveries and of the author's unceasing researches and reflections on Mycenaean topics.

The book's arrangement is simple. Five introductory chapters describe the site, topographically and as Pausanias saw it, and the chronological context of Mycenaean culture, analyse the types of Mycenaean tombs, and survey the history of Mycenae from the Early Bronze Age to its gradual decline in the late Hellenistic or Roman epoch. The next seven chapters conduct the reader round the monuments in the order in which a traveller would visit them; the last contains a wide survey of Mycenaean civilisation as a whole, including its less tangible aspects, at its most flourishing period. Finally, two appendices deal in detail with the dates of, respectively, the Treasury of Atreus and the Cyclopean Walls, and a third provides a useful account of the stones and tools employed by Mycenaean stone-workers. There is also a good index and a select bibliography.

It is only by comparing the descriptive chapters with the original detailed accounts in *BSA* XXV that one can fully appreciate the success of Professor Wace's work of simplification and compression. Condensation has not here led to generalisation or dogmatic statement. The archaeological facts about each area or monument are presented first; deductions from them take second place; the essential evidence is placed before the reader, and he is left free to accept or reject the author's interpretations of them. These are of course of at least equal value to the student, especially when seeking to understand the scattered ruins of the successive palaces on the citadel, and their possibilities are illustrated by the final chapter, which is a masterly re-creation of a vanished age. Here, upon a basis of every kind of archaeological material, the author builds up a surprisingly complete picture, not only of the daily life of the Mycenaeans, but of their social and political organisation, their connections with the outer world, and even their intellectual and scientific attainments.

The comparatively full account of the 1939 excavations is most welcome. One very satisfactory result of the work at the Treasury of Atreus was the new evidence it afforded of the way the great tholos tombs were built; an extensive system of buttress walls (admirably illustrated by Mr. Silcock's plans) was found, running round the dome to support the superincumbent mound, taking the lateral thrust of the façade, and providing a steady backing for the upper courses of the great dromos walls. Thick layers of crude brick, made of tough yellow clay, were used to prevent any seepage of water into tomb and dromos. The wonderful preservation of the Treasury of Atreus is an impressive testimony to the efficacy of these precautions. As briefly reported in *JHS* LXI (1941), Professor Wace and Professor Marinatos have worked out a new recon-

struction of the decorated façade of the Treasury; this too is here discussed at greater length. Though not yet in its final state, the new reconstruction must supersede all earlier attempts.

The remarkable carved ivory group of two sitting women and a boy has been more completely reconstructed since *JHS* LIX, pl. XIVb was taken. As the new photographs show, the group is meticulously carved on every side, including the bottom, and it is suggested that it once formed the head of a ceremonial staff or sceptre.

The House of Columns is the most sumptuous non-palatial Mycenaean house yet excavated, with a central colonnaded court and at least three floors, including the basements. Professor Wace compares it with the House of Odysseus in size and to a certain degree in arrangement, and the latter would certainly fit in very well with some scenes in the *Odyssey*, especially the slaying of the suitors. The plan is a good deal more complex than that recently put forward by Professor Palmer (*Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1948), on philological rather than archaeological grounds, for the Homeric House, and certain features which the latter regards as essential, like the *παγὸς δόμος*, are lacking; but the House of Columns does suggest that it is too early to abandon the idea that epic architecture, like epic geography, had some close connection with Mycenaean originals.

On chapter XIV a few points may, with deference, be raised. P. 105, windows. Sir Arthur Evans has stated (*Palace of Minos* III, 342) that Knossian windows were 'glazed' with some form of parchment, painted red; may we not suppose that this feature, like so many others, was taken over by mainland architects, at least for royal clients? P. 108, ships. Vase-paintings of Mycenaean ships are illustrated by Furumark (*Mycenaean Pottery, Analysis and Classification*, 335 with fig. 56, mot. 40); G. S. Kirk also briefly discusses the subject in *BSA* XLIV. P. 113, flint. A rather poor quality flint is common in Ithaca, and would have been available to the Mycenaean world from that source from at least the mid-thirteenth century B.C. P. 114, copper. The suggestion that the prime source of the wealth of Mycenae was perhaps copper mines in the Argolic hills is important and illuminating, and it is to be hoped that it can be investigated at an early date.

The Appendix on the date of the Treasury of Atreus appeared in *Antiquity* for September, 1949. The 1939 excavations provided overwhelming proof of the general correctness of the conclusions set out in *BSA* XXV; a huge deposit of LHII/LHIIIA pottery etc., which for stratigraphical reasons must ante-date the tomb, puts it beyond doubt that the latter was not built before 1350 B.C. It is however possible to maintain that the date, 1330, now assigned to the Treasury is rather too early. Furumark, in his monumental work on Mycenaean Pottery, seems to have demonstrated conclusively the LHIIIB character of the panel-style of vase decoration in general, and in particular of panel-style bowls. Both he and Professor Wace adopt 1300 as the dividing line between LHIIIA and LHIIIB; since the most characteristic sherd found under the threshold of the Treasury was from a panel-style bowl must not this bring down the laying of the threshold, and so of the completion of the tomb, to after 1300? The author describes the threshold sherds (p. 120) as 'probably mid-fourteenth century', though he accepts (p. 133, n. 4) Furumark's down-dating of the earliest Lion Gate strata to LHIIIB, which rests partly on the presence of similar panel-style bowls. This inconsistency is reflected in the label, 'LHIIIA', of fig. 76b, a panel-style bowl from Lion Gate stratum II. If the Lion Gate itself and the Cyclopean Walls go with the Treasury—and Professor Wace shows good reason why they should—this consideration will also affect the conclusions of Appendix 2, though not the general argument of that section, in which the author seems to have maintained his case against the criticisms of Daniel and others. One other chronological point; it is suggested (p. 76) that the gypsum used at Mycenae, including (p. 136) the material of the two sculptured slabs from the Elgin Collection in the British Museum, was imported not from Crete but from Kephallenia. This would be easier to believe if the Mycenaean remains of that island were not all so late; nothing Mycenaean has yet been found there earlier than



the mid-thirteenth century. And so far none of the Western Isles has produced sufficiently early LH remains of any kind (though the adjacent mainland admittedly has done) to make it at all credible that the Elgin reliefs could be of Kephallenian material.

The production of the book is sumptuous, the illustrations are of high quality. Only one misprint was noticed; on p. 45 the measurements of the doorway of the Epau Phournos tomb should read: '4.50 metres high, 2 metres wide and 5 metres deep' (*BSA* XXV, 292). But the traveller who wishes to use this admirable guide to conduct him round the site will become even more exasperated than the sedentary reader by the setting of some of the plans, notably fig. 3. Princeton University might usefully rectify this in future editions by adopting the system of loose plans in an end pocket.

The production of specialised studies has now reached such dimensions that it is becoming increasingly difficult for the present (and future) generation of archaeologists to acquire, or keep up to date, an understanding of their subject as a whole. We are the more indebted to those scholars, like Professor Wace, who are willing, from time to time, to deploy their great experience to set down in broader outline the progress made, to assess the sum of knowledge gained, over a large field. Books like the new *Mycenae* not only provide a starting-point for young scholars, they send older students back with a refreshed enthusiasm to the detailed studies which are the daily bread (however dry) of scholarship.

H. WATERHOUSE.

**La vie internationale dans la Grèce des cités** (Publications de l'institut universitaire de hautes études internationales, no. 21). By V. MARTIN. Pp. xiii + 633. Geneva: Georg and Co., 1940.

It took nine years from its date of publication to bring this book into the hands of the reviewer, and it took another year before he was able to finish a thorough examination of it. This is not a work easy to review. As the title indicates, it is based on the assumption that the Greek world was a society of nations, that therefore the relations between State and State were international relations, and that the international life of the Greeks developed in two concentric circles, the Greek and the Barbarian circle. Although the author fully realises that Persia for a long time had an important share in interhellenic politics, he nevertheless draws a strict demarcation line between the two circles. He is interested in the Greek circle alone, and he tries to make this clear throughout the book by adding to the word international the word panhellenic. It seems obvious that a difficult problem is hidden rather than solved.

In taking the Greek States as independent nations, Prof. Martin rightly opposes the obsolete idea held by many nineteenth century historians, that the Greeks suffered from 'particularism', that *Kleinstanterei* prevented them, having no Bismarck or Cavour, from achieving their political unity. A similar view to Martin's has been pronounced as a great discovery in a more recent German book (cf. F. W. Walbank, *JHS* LXVIII 1948, 160). Martin defines Greece as 'l'Europe du monde ancien', 'une Europe en miniature'. He rightly stresses the individualism of the City-States, though Aristophanes is hardly a convincing witness to a collective psychology of national types; the Boeotian and the Megarian in the *Acharnians* are no parallels to John Bull. The trouble, as so often, is with the modern terms. The Polis was a State, and as such an independent element in State-to-State relations; but it was no nation, however we may define that elusive expression. Nor is it convincing to see the ethnical divisions of the Greeks as analogies to larger groups of modern times, so that 'une conscience béotienne, étolienne, arcadienne' corresponds to 'une conscience latine, slave, germanique'. Nation in the modern sense did not exist in Greece, but what there was as possibly deserving that name was the Greek people. To some extent, the German distinction between *Staatsnation* and *Kulturnation* may help to clarify the position, but even that seems not quite adequate. The unity behind the variety of states was far stronger and more influential than unfortunately any 'Europe' has been for the last eight hundred years; perhaps the Christian unity

of mediaeval Europe provides a better analogy, but that was before the rise of national states. As far as the present book is concerned the author does not realise that most of the forms in which Greek international life was expressed were of a kind not suitable between independent nations, although completely natural as resulting from the specific character of the Greek society of states.

The intention of the book, however, was less to define the particular nature of Greek interhellenic relations than to see them as an example of international relations in general. It seems best briefly to indicate the scope of the book. A first section deals with the nature of the Polis, its 'physical' and 'moral' characteristics; this is little more than an introduction, but it fills 120 pages. The second section, dealing with the forms and institutions of interhellenic life, has five chapters: The Alliances (pp. 121-281), Imperialism (pp. 283-391), Peace Treaties (pp. 393-486), Arbitration (pp. 487-576), and Panhellenic Anarchy (pp. 577-594). A full *Index analytique* follows. It will be manifest from the headings alone that the various chapters overlap continuously. We come repeatedly against the same phenomena, seen from various angles and yet 'much the same'. This is one reason why the book has grown so long; another is that the author mingles systematic and historical treatment to an extent we do not expect in a work of this kind. While no chronological order is attempted—the Delian League is treated before the Peloponnesian!—we meet with frequent and lengthy narratives; though usually sound descriptions of a background of historical events and conditions, they do not contribute anything new and seem superfluous for anybody familiar with Greek history. Prof. Martin is probably so expansive because the book is intended also for non-classical scholars. But it seems a pity that it is overloaded with too many irrelevant pages and too many repetitions.

There is, of course, a good deal of valuable material and sound reasoning in those 600 pages. We shall mention a number of points of detail, and naturally controversial questions have mainly been selected. Martin, for instance, strongly opposes the idea of 'natural frontiers' which he calls 'une notion artificielle, inventée par la politique'. This is certainly going too far. Were mountains like Githaeron and Taygetus not natural boundaries? They could be overcome, but they nevertheless existed. And the sea was a frontier not easily overcome. Nobody (certainly not the present reviewer, who has been singled out by Martin) will maintain that geography explains all, or even most of, the political boundaries. If the Aegean world consisted of hundreds of small City-States, this was largely due to various historical conditions; but it is more than doubtful whether these conditions would have been what they were, had the same people settled in a different kind of country.—Prof. Martin well describes different types of Greek States; he realises the impact of the ideas of liberty and autonomy. But did they make it really difficult for a Polis to join in wider political groups or structures? Most of them did, though sometimes under pressure. Martin speaks of Greek patriotism as the fervent love for 'la patrie quasi personifiée', but he seems to forget how often this feeling was marred by the most outrageous expressions of class-hatred and civil strife. Social partisanship frequently ran across Polis frontiers. Martin calls this 'l'adhésion à un même crédo politique et social', a formula which again seems too much influenced by modern experience; he is aware of this danger himself when he goes so far as to speak of an ethnical and a political 'Internationale' in Greece.—In dealing with alliances, Martin realises that they were safeguards of Polis interests rather than results of a clearly conceived ideal of federation. Still, is it right to say that all Greek alliances derived from the need for security? Surely, at least some of the alliances such as the Peloponnesian and the Corinthian Leagues came into being as instruments of power politics, serving expansion rather than defence. Martin seems to contradict himself when he calls symmarchy and hegemony 'des notions indissociables', although he distinguishes between 'une symmachie égalitaire' and 'une symmachie hégémoniale'. The latter is rightly called 'en matière d'institutions internationales, la contribution la plus originale de la Grèce classique'. I am glad Martin has



accepted the conception of hegemonial symmarchy; his alternative 'dualist symmarchy' is an ambiguous expression which might mean an ordinary bilateral alliance. He distinguishes between a permanent and an intermittent type of hegemonial symmarchy, represented by the Delian and Peloponnesian Leagues respectively. But this distinction refers to the use made of the league by the leading State rather than to a difference of structure. The greater freedom enjoyed by the members of the Peloponnesian League does not render that league less permanent than its rival. Was, on the other hand, the Delian League merely the continuation of the alliance of 481? Martin accepts this view; but if he points out that Sparta regarded herself as a member of the anti-Persian coalition as late as 462, this proves the contrary, for she did not belong to the Delian League. The earlier coalition was probably never officially dissolved, but the change of hegemony was more than 'une affaire intérieure de la coalition'. In his treatment of the Delian League, though sound on the whole, Martin makes insufficient use of the epigraphical sources. In his treatment of the Peloponnesian League he keeps to a middle line between Kahrstedt's and Larsen's views. He well emphasizes the psychological effect of Sparta's formal respect for the autonomy of her allies, and is equally right in declaring that there was hardly any Peloponnesian solidarity within the league. The Second Athenian League, on the other hand, is valued as a genuine attempt at creating a different interhellenic atmosphere by a constitution safeguarding the autonomy of the allies and giving to their common voice theoretically as much weight as to the hegemonial power. The failure of this league marks the final failure of the hegemonial symmarchy which had 'ni sentiment de solidarité fédérale, ni idéal commun, ni volonté collective'.

The hegemonial symmarchy had become an instrument of the element dominating 5th and 4th century politics, of City-imperialism. Martin dedicates another long chapter to it, rightly emphasizing the difference between modern and Greek imperialism; the latter, in his view, did not know either annexation or assimilation. They are to some extent replaced by the use of cleruchies and by a number of legal obligations imposed and upheld by force. Martin proposes, not without some justification, to abandon the phrase 'Athenian empire', but admits that there is nothing to replace it. More recent experience may have taught us that imperialism can lead to a system of 'Satellite States' rather than an empire, and that would perhaps be a more adequate description of Athenian imperialism as well, although it certainly is a form of assimilation.

In his chapter on Peace Treaties Martin chiefly deals with the treaties between 445 and 387, writing at great length about the historical events leading to, and resulting from, the treaties, but saying comparatively little about the legal terms and next to nothing about the changes which the form and spirit of such treaties underwent. It is most regrettable that here as elsewhere most of the fourth century is simply left out, and thus he never even mentions the tendency of restoring a permanent κοινή ἐλευθερία. In saying a few words only about the King's Peace he makes excuses fearing that his book would become too voluminous. This is a reasonable feeling most wrongly applied.

The fourth chapter once more emphasizes the negative aspect of all the Greek efforts mentioned. The attempts made to decide cases of inter-State quarrels by arbitration had, at least before the different atmosphere of the Hellenistic Age, very little effect; with one or two exceptions, they were applied only when there was little chance from the start that the affair could lead to war. The final summing-up, after all this, cannot be anything but gloomy. There was no trace of a real interhellenic organisation in politics. Olympian festivals and Amphictyonies did not count. All knowledge of a common civilization and a common heritage did not lead to any Greek State putting the idea of collective interest above its own advantage. 'La solidarité panhellénique n'a existé que dans la conscience d'une élite restreinte et, en somme, impuissante'.

Is this the whole truth? After having worked through Martin's book we are left with a feeling of disappointment; in spite of the length of the treatise something essential is missing. The Greek efforts for peaceful cooperation between

the many States were certainly unsuccessful. Otherwise the history of the fourth century would not have ended with Philip and Alexander. But there are more signs than Martin is aware of that the Greeks from different starting points were at least working in the right direction. In early times warfare was kept under certain humane restrictions, imposed by religion or 'agonal' rule. Even the symmachies, though far from aiming at general peace, did something by preventing wars among their members. Martin makes also too little of the effects of the Persian menace, and of the attempts at partial federal unions. Moreover, Panhellenism was not an invention of some intellectuals such as Gorgias and Isocrates. We need not accept all the points made by Professor Larsen in a number of articles some of which Martin could not yet know. But tragedy and comedy no less than the policy of Cimon show that Panhellenic thought and feelings were widespread. Pericles more than once tried to disguise his Athenian imperialism in apparently Panhellenic schemes; he would not have done so without believing in at least some response.

VICTOR EHRENBURG.

Παγκάρμεια, *Mélanges Henri Grégoire (Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves, IX)*. Pp. xxix + 637; pl. 7. Brussels: Secrétariat des Éditions, 1949. 68s. 6d.

This is a noble tribute to a great scholar. Dr. Grégoire is indeed a *savant* in the grand manner. M. Goossens, in his introductory article, gives us some idea of his master's range and achievement. His equipment by itself is enough to turn most of us green with envy; in addition to his profound knowledge of Western languages and culture, he is a first rate Slavonic scholar, with a mastery of Arabic, Syriac, Turkish, Armenian and Hebrew also. As for his work, M. Goossens well says of it, 'il est impossible de lui rendre tout à fait justice, puisqu'il ne s'est encore trouvé personne dont le coup d'oeil puisse embrasser l'ensemble de ses travaux.' We may add the words of Dr. Johnson, *nihil quod tetigit non ornavit*.

But he is first and foremost a Hellenist; and it is in the language, literature, history and folk-lore of Greece, but especially of mediaeval Byzantium, that his work has been most fruitful and brilliant. This collection, therefore, deals in the main with Greek and Byzantine subjects. Nearly sixty scholars of many different countries contribute to the volume; and this is only half the *Mélanges*, for a second volume is in preparation, one of the most valuable parts of which will be a complete bibliography of Grégoire's works compiled by Mlle. Mathieu. We miss only in the present volume representatives of the Byzantinology of Eastern Europe, from which have come so many of the greatest Byzantinists of yesterday, and of to-day.

It is naturally impossible within the limits of a brief review to give even a full list of the contributors. Among the longer articles, Altheim, Junker and Stiehl contribute a study of *Inschriften aus Gruzien*; Aymard one on the verses of Euripides which were the occasion of the murder of Kleitos; Delatte re-edits the interesting astrological-botanical text preserved in Leningrad; F. and L. Kern write learned *Prolegomena* to a new edition of the *Imitation Christi*; and Lesky some *Neroniana*, which will be of interest to Roman historians, as will Carcopino's *Le Retour à l'Hérédité chez les Antonins*. For the Byzantinist the mere names of Baynes and Bréhier, Dölger and Ensslin, Janin and Lemerle, Maas and Mercati, Moravcsik and Runciman, ensure a rich harvest. Blanchet writes on a beautiful solidus of Leo VI; and Dawkins in his fascinating and informative style on the Icon of Serdenay. Linguists are catered for by Karatzas and Triantaphyllides, who treat respectively of the *Compound Superlative in Akritas* and the *Law of the Accented Vowel*. Sauvaget restores our shaken confidence in the Saracen incendiary projectile, whose pottery containers are found on many Islamic sites. Wilhelm convincingly emends the Eurydice epigram from Plutarch's *Moralia*. The book, in short, is full of good things, and I wish I could mention them all. We shall all hope that the second volume will be of the high standard of the first, and will not be long in making its appearance.

R. J. H. JENKINS.



**From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek No. III.** Pp. xvi + 420; Numerous text figs. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1942.

The third volume of studies from the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek was planned as an international tribute to Carl Jacobsen on the centenary of his birth, but owing to the German occupation the only contributors to the very handsome volume, which has recently arrived in the Hellenic Society, are Scandinavian. P. J. Riis publishes seven Etruscan statuary terracottas in the Glyptotek, five female, two male, ranging in date from the late sixth to the early third century B.C. F. Poulsen (28) briefly discusses a fragmentary Attic grave stele of the early fifth century (Glyptotek no. 13a) on which two soldiers, one standing, one crouching await an attack, perhaps of the Persians at Marathon; he illustrates the tactics from Homer and Herodotus. Vagn Hager Poulsen (33) has a long study of Pheidias and his circle in which he discusses the ascription, chronology, and style of various works attributed to Pheidias, Agorakritos, Alkamenes, and Kresilas. This is an important addition to the considerable post-war literature on Pheidias and cannot be discussed in detail here; it may however be noted that Poulsen assigns the fragmentary bronze Diadoumenos head in Oxford to the group of classicizing bronzes collected by Rumpf in *Critica d'Arte* 1939. F. Poulsen (93) shows convincingly by comparison with other early Hellenistic portraits that the Menander head (Ny Carlsberg 429) is Menander and not Virgil: he also publishes two Roman portraits of the 2nd and 3rd century A.D. (762a, 767a). K. Friis Johansen (123) uses parallels with erotic scenes in Attic vase painting to date a Clazomenian sarcophagus in Berlin (Inv. 30.030) in the last quarter of the 6th century B.C.; British Museum Inv. 86.3-26.5 is explained in the same way and dated about 530 B.C. with a similar sarcophagus in Istanbul. F. Poulsen (144) writes notes on various antiquities in Paris, a head possibly of Ptolemy III Euergetes and a head of a poet in the Louvre, a small bronze statuette of an actor in the Palais des Beaux-Arts (walk and gesture are paralleled in two other statuettes and the slave—not parasite—on a Pompeian painting, Bieber *H.T.* fig. 237), bronze head of negro in the same museum, Egyptian basalt head and bronze seated Hermes in the Musée Jacquemart-André. M. P. Nilsson (168) argues from various references to Bendis in inscriptions and literature that the importance of the Bendis cult in Athens at different times reflects the political relations between Athens and Thrace (note that Kratinos' *Thracian Women* which refers to Bendis is dated by Schmid 443 B.C., and by Pieters 442 B.C.). S. Eitrem (189) discusses throne and sceptre in Roman art. A. Boethius (202) writes on the herm of Themistokles from Ostia; he suggests that there are two stages before this Roman copy—a statue of about 460 B.C. and based on it a portrait of the early fourth century, for which the Second Athenian Confederacy would furnish a suitable occasion. E. Dyggve (225) publishes a sarcophagus lid in the Glyptotek (777) with a tricliniarch holding a bowl perforated so that offerings could be poured into the sarcophagus; he discusses other instances of this kind of ritual device. H. P. L'Orange (247) divides the few certain portraits of Nero into a 'constitutional type' and an 'apotheosis type' and equates them with the earlier and later heads of Nero on coins. The other articles are devoted to Egyptian and modern art.

T. B. L. WEBSTER.

**The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Final Report VI—The Coins.** By A. R. BELLINGER. Pp. viii + 214; pl. 42. Yale University Press, (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1949. 27s. 6d.

In this impressive work, Professor Bellinger gives us a definitive account of the fourteen-thousand-odd coins found at Dura, with valuable chapters of interpretation, and copious illustrations.

Of the rich finds relating to the Roman period, particularly the large hoards, from which he is able to draw a complex picture of the currency in the eastern Roman Empire, I need say little (since a review is to appear also in *JRS*), beyond expressing particular admiration for the masterly way in which the results are drawn together in a final

chapter 'The Currency of Dura'—clearly an important contribution to the economic history of the ancient world.

For the Seleucid and Parthian periods the material is smaller: there are no large hoards: but although the separate coins found on the site form a comparatively small part of the vast total here catalogued, they are more plentiful than the finds at, for instance, Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. By contrast with Seleucia, Dura was a small place with no mint of its own (except for a short time under Antiochus I) and had to obtain its currency from elsewhere—in fact, as the finds show, almost exclusively from Antioch and other Syrian mints: mints to the East are barely represented (e.g. Seleucia and Ecbatana). Clearly Dura's commercial connexions were almost entirely with Syria. Bellinger remarks (p. 195) that the supply of currency cannot have depended merely on what individuals brought in with them, but must have been catered for by banking arrangements: the large quantities of some particular issues (invariably Antioch-minted), recorded in the catalogue, certainly suggests some form of bulk-supply. It is interesting to observe that, when Dura was in Parthian hands, things went on much as before: the Parthian coins themselves found at Dura are few, yet there was still a steady influx from Antioch (when Syria had become a Roman province).

It is pointed out (p. 190) that the supply of currency to Mesopotamia was more centralised and flexible under the Romans: a remarkable instance is the way in which Septimius Severus used the mints of the Pontic cities to supplement other sources. Very large numbers of bronze coins of those cities were found at Dura: coinages which are, thus, no mere 'local' issues (and one wonders whether, with more evidence as to circulation, this might not be true of many other 'Greek Imperial' coinages), but whose sudden and extensive appearance in an unexpected area shows that 'the whole north-eastern limes, of which we know so little, is now a region sufficiently civilised to require Roman coins'.

One or two other points of interest. First, the attractive hypothesis (p. 200) that the Parthian conquest of Dura took place in about 113 B.C. This is based on the fact that the latest Seleucid coins present in bulk are those of Antiochus Grypus' first reign at Antioch (120-113 B.C.), and that some of these have a peculiar countermark—only found at Dura, and unlike ordinary Seleucid countermarks—which, it is suggested, may in fact have been used by the Parthians to validate the currency they found in circulation when they took Dura. (A certain resemblance between the countermark in question, no. 4 in Bellinger's table of countermarks, and the design of some Sassanian seals, *Survey of Persian Art*, I, p. 805, can hardly be more than fortuitous, I suppose.) We need perhaps not accept the full intricacy of Bellinger's hypothesis (p. 200), though there seems to be no more positive evidence for the date of the Parthian conquest: the Parthian coins themselves do not help much, for the earliest reign represented by more than a handful of coins is that of Orodes II, while the copious issues of Mithradates II, under whom, on the theory advanced, Dura will have changed hands, are, as Bellinger notes, entirely missing. May there not, however, also be a possibility that the 'Cox and Box' dynastic struggle between Antiochus Grypus and his brother Cyzicenus might have something to do with this countermarking of Grypus' coins?—as is perhaps the case with some of Cyzicenus' coins (in the British Museum) which have a countermark (a palm-branch) struck across the king's head in rather the same way as the Dura countermark is applied (Bellinger, Plate II, 97 b).

Finally, a point on which I would be prepared to disagree, though it is an incidental detail. On p. 117, under No. 142, Bellinger follows Wroth (rightly, as against some more recent opinions) in the attribution of a group of Parthian tetradrachms to Vologases II: at the same time he explains some numeral letters, which occur on the obverses of the coins, as regnal years. But, contemporaneously with these coins, there is a group of Pacorus II, with four similar letters, A-Δ inclusive, corresponding with only two calendar years, A.D. 77/8 and 78/9; and five numerals, A-E inclusive, occur later in the reign of Vologases II himself, within a single year, A.D. 121/2. Clearly the numerals cannot be regnal years in either of these cases, and so are hardly likely



to be so in the case under discussion. The true explanation of them seems yet to be sought.

G. K. JENKINS.

**Apollo Delphinios.** By P. P. BOURBOULIS. Pp. 81. Thessaloniki: Laographia, 1949.

Miss Bourboulis has chosen to investigate the questions why Apollo is called Delphinios, and where the cult and the associated myths originated. Carefully collecting (pp. 9-18) the relevant passages, literary and epigraphical, she finds a twofold myth, one variant being that in the 'Homeric' hymn, the other associated with Theseus and found mostly in Plutarch and Pausanias. The cult existed in numerous islands, including Crete, several places in Greece proper, and with extensions as far east as the Euxine and as far west as Gaul. She comes to the conclusion, after reviewing and criticising other theories, that the original home of the god is Attica (p. 47), and that the title means what it seems to mean, 'dolphin-god' (pp. 48 *sqq.*), the reason for it being that the friendly fish is on occasion thought of as leading mariners to a land where they may settle and doing so by divine inspiration (p. 59). This agrees well with the activity of Apollo as a guide to colonists. His festival she considers to be connected with the seasonal opening of navigation in spring (pp. 65 *sqq.*). As might be expected where the material is by no means abundant and much of it has to be taken from late authors whose sources of information are no longer extant, the force of her arguments varies, but the general tone is reasonable and critical and the conclusions not unlikely.

The Greek printers have had difficulties with the English text, but the worst misprints are corrected in an inserted errata-slip.

H. J. ROSE.

**Justin the First: an Introduction to the Epoch of Justinian the Great.** By A. A. VASILIEV. Pp. viii + 439. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950. \$6.

A new, full-length monograph by the distinguished author of *Vizantiya i Araby* and *Histoire de l'Empire Byzantin* must arouse keen interest in all Byzantinists; and scholars will not be disappointed in this formidable mass of information relating to nine short years of the early sixth century. In his *History* Vasiliev awarded only a paragraph to Justin I. He now devotes to him 439 pages of text, notes and index. We have here, clearly and logically arranged, every scrap of evidence, in all languages, ancient and modern, that bears on the East Roman Empire between the years A.D. 518 and 527.

The emperor Justin, who reigned during these years, was, unlike Napoleon III, not so much an emperor as an uncle. Throughout his term of power, the hand that guided Byzantine policy, whether religious, foreign or domestic, was that of his nephew and successor Justinian, and Vasiliev has every reason to give his study the subtitle *An Introduction to the Epoch of Justinian the Great*. Justin himself was an Illyrian peasant from the region of Skoplje, the Excubitors. Considering that he was illiterate ('incredible' says Vasiliev, p. 83; but why incredible? The author of *Prois'hozhenie imperatora Vasil'ya Makedoniyana* needs no reminding that Basil I could not write; nor, for the matter of that, could Charlemagne, *vide* Einhardi *Vitam ejus*, cap. 25), and considering that he was an Excubitor, it was a stroke of no common diplomacy that rendered him acceptable to the aristocracy, the Blues and the Scholars; (for the political rivalry of Scholars and Excubitors, see the important article of D'yakonov, commended by Vasiliev, in *Vizantiyskiy Sbornik*, Moscow, 1945, p. 198, 'kazhdaya iz grupp . . . staralas provesti na imperatorskiy prestol svoego kandidata', and the French summary in *Byzantinoslavica*, X, 1949, p. 86). The stroke in question was the restoration of the orthodox doctrine of Chalcedon, and the condemnation of the monophysitism of Anastasius I. From this reform divers advantages accrued, of which the greatest was a reconciliation with the papacy, necessary to the success of Justinian's already germinating plan to recover the West from Arian Goths and Vandals. That orthodoxy could be enforced on the

soldiery without protest (pp. 233, 242) shows that the strength of the army did not yet derive preponderantly from the East, as it did in the time of Maurice and Heraclius. The measures against monophysitism of course meant trouble in the East; but, as Vasiliev clearly shows (pp. 241 ff.), Justinian's policy, at least between the years 520 and 527, was one of conciliation rather than persecution. In Egypt, indeed, he had no power to persecute; and, whatever the advantages of reunion with the West, he had no intention of being governed by the pope (pp. 207-12). With wonderful skill the ground was prepared for the great drive westwards that was to come. The grand Germanic coalition of Theodoric dissolved before his eyes, and the great king died a suspicious and cruel tyrant. Vandal and Burgundian kingdoms suicidally resorted to the emperor. It is only in the Balkans that we detect the first symptoms of that collapse which brought down the glorious but ephemeral structure of Justinian. Meantime, to this preparatory work Justin himself contributed little, and his wife Euphemia, apart from her steady opposition to the ambition of Theodora, even less, though she was always treated with respect in the diplomatic world; (incidentally, the plural form βασιλῆς, which puzzles Vasiliev (p. 146), perhaps refers to Justin and Euphemia; cf. Theophanes, p. 94, ll. 7, 9, where βασιλῆς seems to refer to Valentinian and Placidia).

Vasiliev begins with a learned survey of the sources, Greek, Latin, Syriac, Ethiopic and Inscriptional. His enumeration may be said to be complete; indeed, it is rather more than complete, since the Russian *Letopisi* supply no new material, and some at least of the Greek chronicles listed on p. 14 do not take up the tale till three centuries after Justin's death, so that to include them is perhaps to be *justus nimis*. Circumstances outside Vasiliev's control prevented his consulting Stein's *L'histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, pp. 219-73, which however only supplements him by some change of emphasis in certain aspects, notably by a more damaging estimate of the character of Theodora.

Vasiliev next deals in order with Justin's rise to power, his domestic, religious and foreign policy, and ends with a valuable chapter on the economic state of the empire at the beginning of the sixth century. These chapters are divided into sub-sections, each of which ends with a summary of its source-material in a foot-note. This arrangement gives the book very great value as a work of reference, a value enhanced by a good index at the end. But the sub-sections are more or less water-tight, and this militates against continuous narrative and leads to much repetition and over-lapping, not only of statement but also of source citation: so, on p. 91 we read, 'As a matter of course, Theodora was crowned Augusta'; on p. 96, 'Theodora was as a matter of course crowned Augusta'; on p. 98, 'Theodora automatically became Augusta'. The same text from Justinian's Edict XIII is quoted on p. 105, note 3, and p. 130, note 50, the only difference being a typographical error in the latter citation.

The book is one for scholars and researchers, and as such deserves all praise and gratitude. The range and minuteness of its scholarship are quite wonderful. Almost the only entry which appears not quite worthy of the author is the quotation with qualified approval of a silly statement by a Soviet writer about the Slav contribution to the Byzantine Empire (pp. 303, 304), which seems to revive the exploded theory about the connexion between the Russian commune and the thematic *Steuergemeinde* (see Ostrogorsky, *Gesch. Byz. Staat*, p. 88, note 2).

The book has two minor faults, one of which at least cannot be fairly laid to Vasiliev's charge. First, he has been inadequately assisted in the matter of English. For the fact that a Russian scholar of Vasiliev's eminence should publish his book in English, we can feel nothing but thankfulness; but we have a right to expect that his publisher shall have seen to it that his meaning is clear at a first reading, and this is not everywhere so. I have read the second sentence on p. 43 several times, and still do not know what it means. On p. 78, note 58, the phrase 'coronation of the Patriarch' quite perverts the meaning, which is 'coronation (of the emperor) by the Patriarch'. Second, there are many more misprints than should have been allowed to appear in a work of this kind. I have



counted more than forty, without any curious search. Most are trivial, but by no means all; e.g., *John's* for *Justin's* on p. 13, and *circumspection* for *I* scarcely know what, *circumscription* perhaps, on p. 50.

If I have noted these small flaws in a great work of scholarship, it is in the knowledge that they detract nothing from the solid worth of the book, and in the hope that revision may correct them in a second edition. For the work itself is never likely to be superseded in our time.

R. J. H. JENKINS.

**Fra oriente ed occidente: ricerche di storia greca arcaica.** By S. MAZZARINO. Pp. viii + 409. Florence: La Nuova Italia Editrice, 1947. 1200 lire.

The subject of this study as stated in the introduction is the problem of Oriental and Greek relations from the tenth to the sixth century B.C. 'nel suo complesso'. The author shows an extraordinary width of knowledge, historical, literary and archaeological, in both Oriental and Classical fields. Nevertheless it is clear that he writes first and foremost as a historian. He discusses first the origins of the terms 'Asia' and 'Hellas' and the different stages in their evolution. As to 'Asia' his discussion has now been partly superseded by H. Bossert's detailed study of the Hittite material (H. Bossert, *Asia*, 1945). Asia was first the name of part of Lydia, and the Greeks first learnt of the name from the Lydians. When they became masters of Asia Minor under Croesus, the term 'Asia' became synonymous with Asia Minor. Finally, when Croesus' empire was swallowed up by that of the Persians, it was extended to describe the entire continent under Persian rule. In his third chapter the author describes the way in which the states of Asia Minor fused into a cultural *koine*, which together with the greater powers of Assyria and Babylon remained alien to the Greeks, and opposed to them except for the bridge which the Phoenician merchants interposed. This is an over-simplification, because in fact we know little enough about the early Greek cities of Asia Minor and still less about the native states of Phrygia, Caria, Lydia and Lycia; while the recent remarkable discoveries of Bossert and others at Karatepe in Cilicia have shown that a kind of semi-barbaric half-Greek state existed there in the eighth century B.C. with its centre at Adana, and its ports at Tarsus and Mallus ruled by the House of Mopsus, speaking or at least writing Phoenician, yet whose soldiers wore Greek armour. The picture in fact of Oriental Greek relations is more complicated than he would suggest. For not only were such half-Greek states to be taken into account but what is taken for Phoenician influence in Greece is often to be more accurately analysed into partly Phoenician, partly North Syrian elements, as the Nimrud ivories show.

In his Chapter IV dealing with Mermnads and Heraclids, he introduces a surprising theory, namely that they were the same, the story of their difference being merely an invention of the Delphic oracle for *raisons d'état*. He is happier and more convincing on origin of tyranny, which he thinks is wrongly attributed to the Lydians. For one thing the Lydian word for 'king' is not *tyrannos* but *palmda*, and where *tyrannos* occurs in Asia Minor inscriptions, e.g. as applied to the god Mên, it means no more than 'lord', and indeed seems to have been a Greek expression. Again, it can hardly have been derived from Lydia as that country provides no true parallel. Here again we must go warily, knowing so little what Lydia was really like. Hanfmann (*AJA* 1948, 154) has however emphasized rightly that as far as the excavations at Sardis showed, the culture of Lydia was at a low level, and vastly inferior to that of the Greek fringe. Thus it seems not merely did the Greeks learn no political ideas from Lydia; but it becomes very unlikely that it was from there that (as Mazzarino suggests) they learnt their scientific notions of map making, astronomy and the institution of the calendar. In one point he may well be right, however, in stressing their religious debt. But even this is uncertain. Hrozný followed by M. found new support for the old idea of Wilamowitz that Apollo was an Asiatic god, in a Hittite Hieroglyphic inscription perhaps of the twelfth century B.C. mentioning the god *Apulunas*. Unfortunately this is based on a false reading.

In Chapter IV ('Phoenician Commerce and Greek

Colonies') he rightly dismisses a theory of Miltner that the Phrygians closed the Pontus to the Milesians and thereby forced the Greeks to seek contact with the East through southern Cilicia. This was their natural channel of contact, and if the Greeks (Iamani) who came into contact with the Assyrians in the late eighth century were not exclusively Cypriot Greeks, as M. suggests, they were certainly something very similar, namely half-Greeks, such as those illustrated at Karatepe where two men in Greek armour are depicted overcoming an Assyrian. Mazzarino upholds Herodotus' tradition of early Phoenician colonies in Thera, Melos, Thasos and Cythera, perhaps in this connection placing too much emphasis on the single 'proto-geometric' vase from Abu Hawwam which Heurtley claimed as Thessalian but which Kunze thinks is later and perhaps Cycladic (*AM* 60/66, p. 227). Nevertheless M.'s general argument, that the Phoenicians blazed a trail step by step along the islands to the west, and that in their advance Crete formed the key point, is gaining in probability as the recent study of Demargne (*La Crète Dédalique*) has shown, provided we remember that North Syrians are also included. In this connection the report (*AJA* 1950, p. 30) of recent excavations at Carthage, revealing levels of the eighth century, is of great importance and the plan announced by the French to investigate the oldest levels of Utica is greatly to be welcomed, for the foundation of Utica by Tyre opened the way to Spain. Here however, M.'s readers should be reminded that the ancient evidence about Tartessus is of the flimsiest, that the reviewer believes that Tarshish is not Tartessus but Tarsus. (In *Taršit* = Ass. *Tarzi*, aramaic *Tarz*, Semitic *z* is rendered as at Karatepe by *š*, plus the Hittite case-ending *-is*.) Add that the Phoenician inscription from Nora in Sardinia which M. uses to prove Nora was founded from Tartessus has been most recently re-read so as to omit all mention of Tartessus entirely (Dupont-Sommer in *Syria* xxvii, 1948, p. 390).

Another possibly misleading suggestion may be pointed out (p. 290): that 'an aramaic king' who signed his bars of silver with his name as a proof of their quality thereby took the first step to inventing the idea of coinage. This oblique allusion to Barrekub of Zincirli (Sendjirli) is inexact. The bars of silver bearing his name, now published in *Ausgrabungen* . . . V, do not correspond to any regular system of weight, nor is there any reason to suppose that Barrekub put his name on them with any other motive than that with which modern restaurants put their names on their cutlery.

The summary of M.'s views regarding Eastern influences is that it flowed along two routes (i) guided by the Phoenicians along the 'route of the alphabets', i.e. Crete, Thera and Melos and (ii) the route of Asia Minor. With this few will disagree. To point out defects of detail is ungracious, for this is a book which students of early Greek archaeology cannot afford to ignore. But it must be remarked that the author has hardly made the task of reading his work easy, or encouraging. The main argument is put forward in a series of short paragraphs printed in large type in the form of general propositions and assertions which are then dissected, substantiated and expanded by longer passages in microscopic type dispersed at frequent intervals. For the bold reader who has struggled past this formidable arrangement of prepared positions there lies in ambush an apparatus of more than nine hundred annotations at the back of the book, likewise in microscopic type. Finally there are neither illustrations nor index to rescue him if lost upon the road.

R. D. BARNETT.

**Szenenbilder zum griechischen Theater des 5 Jahrhunderts v. Chr.** By H. BULLE and H. WIRSING. Pp. 56; pl. 11. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1950. DM 20.

It is difficult to review this book justly. Bulle died in 1945 and shortly before his death the text of a big book on Greek staging was destroyed in an air raid. The present book consists of an essay about research on ancient theatres by Bulle and nineteen reconstructions of scenery by Heinrich Wirsing. It is a pity that the text by Gerda Bruns, which accompanies the reconstructions, consists only of translations and brief indications of the content of the play; it would have been much more useful to have notes on the



basis for the reconstructions; if Bulle's notes no longer exist even in students' notebooks or memories, Wirsing's reconstructions are based on interpretations of particular passages in the play and these should have been noted. Only a few of these are given in Bulle's essay and Möbius' introduction. For instance, in the *P.V.* it is only from Bulle's introduction that we learn why Prometheus appears and the chorus dance on what would normally be the roof of the stage-building; Bulle believes that the platform on which they stand was lowered behind the normal front at the end of the play. We must however accept the reconstructions in the form that they are given to us and we can at least be grateful that we know how a distinguished scholar pictured to himself the scenery of five plays of Aeschylus, three of Sophocles, four of Euripides, and five of Aristophanes. The reconstructions naturally raise many questions. What changes did the rebuilding of the stage buildings in stone (which Bulle dates about 425) bring with them? Apparently none, when we compare the reconstruction of the *Agamemnon* and the *Troades*. What justification is there for assuming that a pediment surmounted the back wall of the classical stage in Athens, even if this can be proved for the Hellenistic theatre at Segesta? Why is the *theologion* shown as an elaborate kind of lift? The god could surely walk upstairs. Why does the *mechane* have a fixed horizontal arm? Plato speaks of 'raising gods' and Antiphanes (191K) of 'raising the *mechane* like a finger', which surely implies something much more like our derrick. But the major problem, in which I find Sir Arthur Pickard-Cambridge much more convincing than Bulle, is the problem of changing scenery between plays. Sir Arthur writes: 'it has been calculated that in a twelve-hour day of the festival not more than two hours at most can have been available for intervals between plays'—two hours for four intervals if we assume one comedy after the tragic tetralogy. The sets reconstructed by Bulle are much too complicated for building and unbuilding in half an hour, and we must suppose that the Greeks were content with something much simpler such as painted canvas screens and properties which could be carried on quickly. But though there may be much disagreement about detail, these drawings are always interesting and sometimes, particularly in the pictures of Aristophanes, delightful.

T. B. L. WEBSTER.

**Callimachus, Vol. I, Fragmenta.** EDITED R. PFEIFFER. Pp. xiv + 520. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949. 50s.

Dr. Pfeiffer deserves both warm thanks and much praise for this book, which in so many ways does notable service to Callimachean studies. Firstly, he has made a much-needed sifting of those fragments which O. Schneider collected, not previously overhauled (I. Kapp's work on *Hecala* apart) since their publication nearly eighty years ago. Even in bare statistics the result is impressive. Adoption of reasonable ascriptions and fusions, backed by removals to other categories, elimination, and ninety-three absorptions in papyri, reduce Schneider's unplaced pieces from 460 to 235. Also, from his 400 or more *Anonyma* rigorous pruning leaves only fifty-five survivors. Twenty-eight others, recognized as from other authors, are listed in *Conspectus* III. (how blind was Schneider to Pindar at his no. 33!); Callimachus acquires sixty-eight, mainly for *Hecala* from Suidas; and several more are deemed in various degrees likely to be his. Here, as in suggestions for placing some of the *Incertae Sedis*, Pfeiffer admirably blends resource and caution. There are also a few accessions to both series; and fragments are now grouped under quoters in both, and in *Hecala* after the *ordo narrationis* lapses.

Textually, again, Pfeiffer often seems to improve what endures after this weeding. There is room here to mention only some salient points, with selected references given in his numeration. A better authority is followed (Fr. 274. 2, 606, 754), a defect differently emended (530), a corruption simply marked as such (32, 326, 623), a lacuna left unfilled (395, 669). Emendation yields to the quoter's text (70, 630, 659); importations from his comment *vel sim.* are ejected (325, 340). Closer attention to metrical usage affects details (493, 547, 755); the very verse-form is altered by it (655. 2, 680. 2), or on other grounds (218, 379, 491);

and assonance helps in wording (281, 283) or towards location (725). Papyri change some readings in absorbed frags. (e.g., 1. 34, 75. 3, 191. 11; cf. Lobel at 85. 15); and in *Hecala* Pfeiffer rather often disagrees textually with I. Kapp on both Schneider's remains and papyri.

To survey the papyrus pieces, here excellently presented with the *Diegesis* attached, brings constant reminders of our great debt to Mr. Lobel. Among other partakers in improvement, Pfeiffer himself makes many happy textual contributions—e.g., his emendation at 21. 3, his supplements of 1. 14 and 43. 42 from out-of-the-way reading, the detection of the *Diegetes*' catch-line in 76. 1, the dismissal of the '*uicinus pruinosus*' from 260. 64. In a conflict of evidence *Coma Berenices* is set just before the epilogue of *Aetia*. Act. II's order of themes is still unknown; but some future discovery may justify Pfeiffer's placing of Fr. 44-47, by showing *σοφὸν νόον* of 43. 92 to be Rhadamanthys' *δίκανον* about retribution in kind (Arist. *Eth. Nic.* V. 8 ap. Hes. Fr. 174 Rzsch).

On both old and new fragments the commentary's clear Latinity provides a *lane satura* of information, discussion, suggestion, and (Callimachus being as slippery as an eel) warning. To references at 195. 1 add Xen. *Anab.* V. 6 § 4. Possibly 191. 92-93 allude to Hipponax's poetic venom; cf. in Athen. III. 80B Nicophon's statement that to eat green figs at mid-day, and then sleep, induces a fever which *ταῖς ποταῖς χολεῖν*. Elsewhere a few of Pfeiffer's interpretations seem doubtful. At 96 may not Dieg.'s *τοῦς ὑγροῦσι τοῖς βαλῆναι* mean simply (*sc. αὐτῶν*) 'those who consider that such spoils belong to her'? Given the note's premisses about 203. 24, what shape of supplement can bring in the proposed negative? Since 384. 42 speaks of a foot-race, surely the metaphor from wrestling, *ὁδὸν κούρῃ*, is incredible. Maas's view of 388. 9 seems preferable, and 'i.e. "sine illa remuneratione" . . . unwarranted at 642.

In this volume's production the Clarendon Press has done its best—and how good that is! Miss Alford is clearly a good ally in proof-reading. Earnest (but not malicious) scrutiny for *errata* yields only a few in the Latin, and these easily grasped (*Duadicari* for *Diud-*, p. 131 *ad fin.*, is slightly tougher), and a handful in reference-numbers, reported to Pfeiffer for mention in Vol. II. *Conspectus* I. needs slight changes and additions, *Consp.* IV. is short under P. Oxy. ined. Fr. 93 gets *γλῶσσος* from PSI, not P. Oxy. On Pfeiffer's own part a stout heart must have accompanied erudition and critical skill in performing so long and intricate a task. 'Well run, sir!'

M. T. SHILEY.

**Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery.** By D. K. HILL. Pp. xxxviii + 158; pl. 55 + 289 figs. & frontispiece. Baltimore: Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery, 1949. \$6.25.

In spite of the many outstanding collections of ancient bronzes all over Europe and America, relatively few scientific catalogues of them have been written within the last thirty years. I suspect one of the reasons is the difficulty of the task, since the often heterogeneous character of the material poses many problems in identification and dating.

Miss Hill has courageously stepped into the arena and written an up-to-date catalogue of the bronzes in the Walters Gallery. The book she has produced is an exceedingly creditable performance, full of useful information and astute observations. The arrangement is as follows: A general introduction deals mostly with technical matters, especially the various methods of ancient casting—a difficult subject that modern research and recent discoveries have considerably clarified. Then comes a short, factual history of the Walters bronzes, assembled by Mr. Henry Walters between 1902 and 1931, and bequeathed to the city of Baltimore. This is followed by the catalogue proper, which includes only the sculptural pieces; for 'the vases, utensils, objects of personal adornment, and other decorated bronzes', are to be treated in a subsequent volume. No one will quarrel with the fact that some of the bronzes in the first volume may have had a 'decorative' use and should therefore have been assigned to the second volume. As the author rightly points out, certainty regarding the original intention of an object is often out of the question. As a



matter of fact, in many cases one does not greatly care whether a piece was an independent creation or part of a larger whole. The evaluation of the object itself is more important.

The classification within these two larger groups is made according to subject, and this too is perhaps a good idea, for it relieves the author of often arbitrary decisions regarding chronology. What seems a pity, however, is the order in which the objects appear—first, appropriately enough, deities, headed by Zeus, Poseidon, Hermes, Apollo, etc.; then the minor divinities; then human beings, and, farther down the scale, barbarians, priests, grotesques, dwarfs and babies. After that, surprisingly, we start again with deities, but this time with female ones, followed by maenads, women, girls, parts of human beings, animals, and monsters. This segregation of the sexes seems unwarranted. Surely Athena and Aphrodite should come immediately after their own male relatives instead of after dwarfs and babies. The result is that in this general medley the relatively few first-rate pieces have become submerged. For instance, the seventh-century girl, no. 237, the early fifth-century girl, no. 239, and the girl of about 400 B.C., no. 241, which are among the most important statuettes in the collection, have become just so many secondary females, making their appearance with their more modest sisters in the concluding pages and plates of the volume.

One of the many excellent features of the book is the inclusion of forgeries, sometimes as doubtful pieces with an honest question mark, at other times as certainly modern works, grouped at the end of the book (after the animals). The bibliography, with the useful addition of sale catalogues, and the careful index are also most welcome.

The illustrations are not remarkable for their quality, but they are serviceable and generally give an adequate view of every piece (only the Hellenistic base, no. 146, appears twice—an excellent view on the frontispiece in addition to the one on pl. 31). An occasionally different composition of the objects on the plates could have somewhat rectified the confusion caused by the arrangement of the material, by making important pieces stand out more prominently than others. The fine archaic sphinx, no. 279, for instance, is shown in a small, unworthy illustration between two large sphinxes.

A shortcoming of the book, for students at least, is the lack of clarity in the chronology. Most of the pieces in the Walters Collection are Graeco-Roman, or Roman, if you like, since Miss Hill prefers that term. As is now well known, this period was one of wholesale copying and adapting of earlier works, in bronze statuettes no less than in stone sculptures and engraved gems. An assignment to the type that lies behind the Roman work is therefore called for, and, in our present knowledge of styles, one expects such appraisals as, 'Roman execution after a fifth-century, or a fourth-century, or a Hellenistic type'. Sometimes, of course, it may be doubtful whether a piece is of Roman date

or a Greek original, but there should be at least an attempt to determine the period of the underlying type. Miss Hill in most cases contents herself with such assignments as 'presumably Roman', 'appears to be Roman', 'probably Roman', 'the choice of type makes a Roman date probable', 'early Roman', 'Neo-classic period', etc. Even in such obvious cases as the Apollo, no. 37, where the type is rightly recognized as derived from a work of before the middle of the fifth century B.C., the comment is 'actual date doubtful, probably Roman'; and no. 97, one of the many Roman copies of the Lysippian Herakles of the Farnese type, is dated Hellenistic, 280–270 B.C.

This defect of a somewhat confused chronology is compensated, however, by the many technical details that Miss Hill gives in her descriptions—regarding casting, chasing, riveting, mounting, etc. Students will learn much from these observations.

I add a few questions and comments, mostly small points:

- p. xviii. There is another replica of the Perinthos head in the Liechtenstein collection.
- p. xxv. Wace's contention that bronze rather than marble sculptures were in favour from the late sixth century B.C. to the period of Praxiteles may be correct to a certain extent, but that great sculptors like Pheidias and Alkamenes worked extensively in marble we learn from Lucian, *Zeus Tragodos*, 7, where Myron's and Polykleitos's bronze is contrasted with Pheidias's and Alkamenes's marble.
- no. 1. Why should this boy be eclectic because the head is more carefully worked than the body? Why not a Roman copy of a Hellenistic work?
- no. 49. The 'twin' is now in the Metropolitan Museum. Instead of Dioskouroi could not the two statuettes be just boys in Oriental costume?
- no. 106. Why should a bust found in the house of Laberius Gallus at Bolsena necessarily represent the owner? There are so many other possibilities.
- no. 171. This little kouros seems to me early archaic. First half of sixth century B.C. rather than middle? I suggest period of Orchomenos—Thera Group, 590–570 B.C.
- nos. 175 ff. Surely the term kouros should not be used for post archaic youths, its only excuse being that it conveniently differentiates archaic boys from later ones.
- no. 185. As Miss Hill rightly recognised, this charming statuette is a variant of the Elgin Athena, which, by the way, has now been acquired by the Metropolitan Museum.
- no. 195. The inscription *Demetriou* on the inside of the left foot could refer either to the owner or to the maker. We may recall that on engraved gems, where also little space is available, names in the genitive are generally signatures.
- no. 236. A forgery?

GISELA M. A. RICHTER.



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a



b



c



d

c. SILVER VASES FROM KOZANI.  
d. ANCIENT CAST FROM METALWORK, AGORA.

a. ARCHAIC HEAD IN THASOS.  
b. STEATITE VESSEL IN STATHATOU COLLECTION.





a



b

a. OLD SMYRNA. EAST GREEK ORIENTALIZING OENOCHOE.  
b. ATHENS, AGORA. R.F. OENOCHOE.

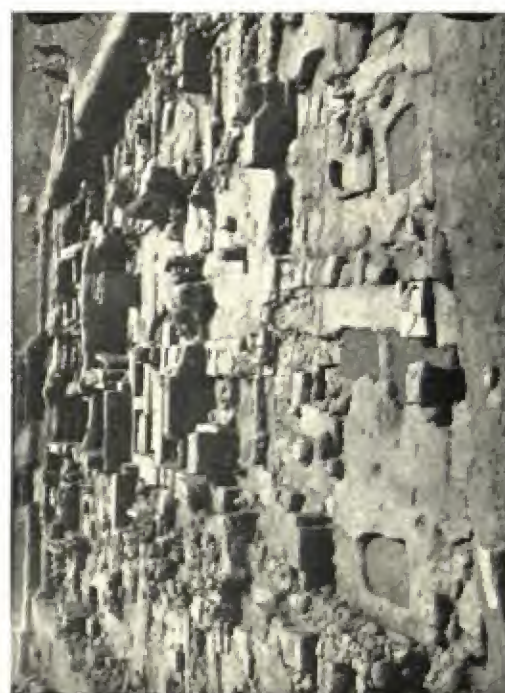




<sup>a</sup>  
a, CYPRUS, LATIN CATHEDRAL AT NICOSIA.



<sup>b</sup>



<sup>c</sup>  
c, CYPRUS, MYCENAEAN PALACE AT ENKOMI.





*a*



*b*



*c*



*d*

- a.* GEOMETRIC AMPHORA IN LONDON.  
*b.* BRONZE HORSE ON TRIPOD, FOUND IN ITHACA.  
*c.* BRONZE HORSE ON TRIPOD, FOUND IN ITHACA.  
*d.* PROTCORINTHIAN ARYBALLOS AND BRONZE HORSE, FROM BARI, IN TARANTO MUSEUM.





a



b



c



d



e

- a. LATE GEOMETRIC AMPHORA.  
 b. BRONZE HORSE ON STAND FOUND AT AETOS, ITHACA.  
 c. BRONZE HORSE FOUND AT SYRACUSE. (SYRACUSE MUSEUM.)  
 d. EARLY PROTCORINTHIAN ARYBALLOS. (ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM.)  
 e. BRONZE HORSE ON STAND FOUND IN ITHACA.





VOLUTE-KRATER IN CAMBRIDGE.

*(Fitzwilliam Museum, on loan from Museum of Ethnology and Archaeology.)*





DETAILS OF VASE IN PLATE VI.





DETAILS OF VASE IN PLATE VI.





*b*, DETAIL OF CALYX-CRATER FRAGMENT FROM CORINTH. (Corinth Museum.)



*a*, DETAIL OF VASE IN PLATE VI.







THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION  
OF  
HELLENIC STUDIES  
50 BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1.

## REPORT FOR THE SESSION 1949-50.

THE Council beg leave to submit their report for the session now concluded:—

### Finance.

That the Excess of Expenditure over Income stands at £255, as compared with £1,113 in 1948, calls for a word of explanation: (1) the 1948 accounts contained the expenses of the *two* volumes 67 and 68; (2) the 1949 accounts, which are circulated with this Report, introduce a new practice with regard to the *Journal* account; instead of including in the year's expenditure the estimated cost of the unpublished *Journal*, as has been the practice, we shall in future show the actual expenditure on the current *Journal* issue. This new practice is conveniently introduced now, as the *Journal* is being brought up to date by the simultaneous publication this year of volumes 69 and 70; this enables us to spread the cost over the two years 1949 and 1950, and we have therefore included in the 1949 accounts half the cost of these volumes, leaving the balance to be included in the 1950 accounts.

The fact remains that there has been no hope of living within the present income, and we have therefore taken the decision, in agreement with the Roman Society, to recommend the increase in subscription rates for all classes of new members.

Membership figures have been revised as at December 31st, 1949, a plan which relates them more exactly to the year's income. These revised figures represent the strictly paid-up subscriptions, and they show the membership not yet back at the 1939 figure.

	Members.	Life Members.	Student Associates.	Libraries.	Total.
1947	948	141	179	404	1,672
1948	965	141	186	390	1,682
1949					
revised	975	133	188	384	1,680
Journal exchanges	64				

### Obituary.

The Council record with great regret the death during the session of Professor P. N. Ure, a member of the Council, also the deaths of: T. W. Allen, G. Bentham, His Excellency M. D. Caclamanos, Professor Deubner, B. H. P. Dickinson, H. C. A. Elithorn, P. B. R. Forbes,

Rev. G. Henniker-Gotley, Miss M. E. Lees, Rev. A. J. McIver, J. J. Mavrogordato, Rev. Hugh Morrissey, Miss M. E. A. Phipps, G. H. C. Prentice and W. H. D. Rouse.

### The Joint Standing Committee of the Hellenic and Roman Societies.

An important development of the past year has been the establishment by the two Societies of Joint Control over all the Library functions. The premises at 50 Bedford Square pass into the joint responsibility of the two Societies (expenses being shared equally); the Library and its administration will be jointly controlled (expenses being shared in proportion to membership H.S. 60%, R.S. 40%). Two new Joint Accounts will in future appear in respect of these. The two Councils have appointed Mr. E. G. Turner to be Hon. Librarian for the next triennial period.

The Committee recommended the appointment of Miss J. E. Southan as Librarian in succession to Miss G. R. Levy, who retired at the commencement of the session.

### Premises.

The expiry of the lease of the present premises in December created a very difficult situation. A renewal of a long-term lease on modern conditions is clearly beyond the resources of the Society; and although in two years' time the Council have good hopes of being able to arrange suitable accommodation for the Society, the intermediate period had to be provided for. Fortunately, the Duke of Bedford, our landlord, has consented to a short lease, on terms which are generous to the Societies and have enabled us to avoid immediate removal. The end-of-lease dilapidations, for which no provision has yet been made, will have to be met in 1952, and for this emergency the Council is asking members to contribute to a *Special Fund*.

### Journal of Hellenic Studies.

Thanks to the grant from UNESCO we issued last year volumes 67 and 68, and before the end of this year we shall publish the two volumes 69 and 70 in one binding; this will bring the *Journal* up to date after making up the two years lost through the war. Volume 71, to be put-



lished in 1951, will be a tribute volume to Professor Sir John Beazley; it is hoped that subscribers who wish to show regard for him will bear the expense of the lavish illustration which we shall produce for this volume.

The future development of the *Journal* is receiving consideration; it is proposed to divide the editorial work by appointing as General Editor Professor A. W. Gomme and as assistant Editor, Mr. G. K. Jenkins, and to widen the scope of the *JHS* by the inclusion of more numerous historical and literary articles, without neglecting the archaeological interests with which it is especially identified.

#### Meetings.

The following communications have been made at Meetings of the Society during the session:—

November 8th, 1949. Professor R. J. H. Jenkins on 'The Historical Tradition of 9th Century Byzantium'.

February 7th, 1950. Professor A. J. Toynbee on 'Greek History as a Key to World History'.

May 9th, 1950. Professor H. D. F. Kitto on 'The Gods in Greek Poetry'.

June 27th, 1950. Professor E. R. Dodds (Presidential Address), 'The Greek Shamans and the Origins of Puritanism'.

#### Provincial Meetings.

Meetings were arranged in collaboration with local branches of the Classical Association at the following centres: Hull, Southampton, Reading, Bristol and Glasgow, and papers were read by Professor A. W. Gomme, Professor H. D. F. Kitto, Professor L. J. D. Richardson, Professor T. B. L. Webster and Professor C. M. Robertson.

#### Administration.

The following members of Council retire under Rule 19: J. Allan, W. L. Cuttle, B. L. Hallward, Professor H. D. F. Kitto, Professor M. E. L. Mallowan, E. V. C. Plumptre, Professor H. T. Wade-Gery, Professor E. H. Warmington, Professor T. B. L. Webster.

The Council have nominated for election as President of the Society: Professor T. B. L. Webster, and as members of their body for the next three years: R. M. Cook, Miss D. H. F. Gray, G. B. Kerferd, H. C. Oakley, Professor D. L. Page, Professor C. M. Robertson, F. H. Stubbings, G. A. D. Tait, Professor D. Tarrant, and Mrs. A. D. Ure.

E. S. G. Robinson has been re-elected to the Standing Committee for the next triennial period.

The Council thank their Honorary Member,

Mr. C. T. Edge, F.C.A., for acting as auditor, and have pleasure in nominating him for re-election.

#### The Joint Library.

The following figures show the work done during the last three sessions:—

	1947-8.	1948-9.	1949-50.
Books added .....	234	271	271
Books borrowed .....	4,023	4,395	4,005
Borrowers .....	652	608	610
Slides borrowed .....	6,157	6,118	5,503
Slides sold .....	507	137	245
Filmstrips borrowed .....		30	32
Filmstrips sold .....		11	15

The Library Committee has been enlarged, and now meets every three months. The present members of the Committee are: Professor R. J. H. Jenkins (Chairman), Mr. E. G. Turner (Honorary Librarian), Miss M. Alford, Professor N. H. Baynes, Professor A. H. M. Jones, Professor W. S. Maguinness, Professor C. M. Robertson, Dr. H. H. Scullard, Professor R. P. Winnington-Ingram.

The new Committee has, as its first task, tackled the problem of filling gaps in sets of foreign periodicals due to the war, and resuming exchanges. As a result, fourteen exchanges have been resumed during the past year, and gaps are slowly being filled, though owing to war-time destruction it is feared that some of them will be permanent.

In response to requests from members, current numbers of all periodicals are now kept together in the main Library.

The Committee intends to devote its attention next to bringing the Library up to date as far as possible. It is impossible to purchase large numbers of foreign books owing to their prohibitive cost, but every effort is being made to get books for review. During the last year, 110 books have been received for review from foreign publishers.

The new Committee on Slides, Photographs and Filmstrips has now begun to meet. The members are Professor C. M. Robertson (Chairman), Mr. B. Ashmole, Dr. J. K. St. Joseph and Dr. J. M. C. Toynbee. The Committee is at present concentrating on the revision and improvement of the sets of lantern slides. It is hoped to revise twenty-four out of the total of forty-six within the next two years.

Additions to the Library during the year include:—

General: Highet, *The Classical Tradition; Hommage à Joseph Bidez et à Franz Cumont; Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire offerts à Charles Picard*; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, vol.



18, parts 2, 3 and 4, vol. 20, part 1, and Supplementband 7, A2 parts 1 and 2.

Literature: Aristotle, *Prior and Posterior Analytics*, ed. Ross; Bacchylides, ed. Snell; Callimachus I, *Fragmenta*, ed. Pfeiffer; Herodotus, trans. Powell; Organ, *An index to Aristotle in English translation*; Piwonka, *Lucilius und Kallimachos*; Solmsen, *Hesiod and Aeschylus*.

Religion: Festugière, *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste, II, Le Dieu Cosmique*; Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its survival in Greek Religion*, 2nd edition.

Philosophy: Des Places, *Pindare et Platon*; Dupréel, *Les Sophistes*.

History: Bellinger, *The end of the Seleucids*; Bréhier, *Vie et Mort de Byzance* and *Les Institutions de l'Empire Byzantin*; Calderini, *La Fonti per la Storia antica greca e romana*; Ehrenberg and Jones, *Documents illustrating the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*; Gelzer, *Pompeius*; Jacoby, *Atthis: the local Chronicles of ancient Athens*; Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*; Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des Byzantinischen Staates (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, XII, i, 2)*; Taylor, *Party Politics in the Age of Caesar*; Vogt, *Constantin der Grosse und sein Jahrhundert*.

Law: Jörs, Kunkel and Wenger, *Römisches Recht*, 3rd edition; Seidl, *Römisches Privatrecht*.

Archaeology: Baradez, *Vue-aérienne de l'organisation romaine dans le Sud algérien*; Corinth, vol. XV, part 1, *The Potters' Quarter*; Dura-Europos Excavations, Final Report IV part 1, fasc. 2, *The Greek and Roman Pottery*, part 4, fasc. 1, *The Bronze Objects* and VI, *The Coins*; Pascher, *Der römische Limes in Österreich*, XIX; Riis, *Hama-Fouilles et Recherches 1931-1938*, II, 3; Wace, *Mycenae*.

Roman Britain: Bushe-Fox, *Fourth Report on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent*; Charlesworth, *The Lost Province*; Richmond, *The British Section of the Ravenna Cosmography*.

Modern Greece: Argenti and Rose, *The Folk-Lore of Chios*.

Geography: Philippson, *Das Klima Griechenlands*.

Art: Blümel, *Hermes eines Praxiteles*; Buschor, *Griechische Vasen*; *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Belgium III, and Spain, *Musée Archéologique National*, II; Dragendorf and Watzinger, *Arretinische Reliefkeramik*; Hill, *Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*; Kähler, *Pergamon and Der grosse Fries von Pergamon*; *From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek*, III; Picard, *La Sculpture*, III.

Numismatics: Mattingly, Sydenham and Sutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. IV, part 3; Seltman, *Masterpieces of Greek Coinage*; *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, III.

Inscriptions: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Vol. I, part 2, fasc. 3 (2nd edition), Vol. VII, part 5, fasc. 1, and Vol. XIII, part 5 (indices); Raubitschek and Jeffery, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*; *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, X.

Papyri: Bell and Roberts, *Merton Papyri I*; Crawford, *Found I University Papyri (Textes et Documents VIII)*.

The following additional periodicals are now taken by the Library: *Ampurias*, *Archeologia Classica*, *Eranos*, *Fasti Archaeologici*, *Gallia*, *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*, *Journal of Juristic Papyrology*, *Revue des Études Byzantines*, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*.

The Councils of the Hellenic and Roman Societies wish to express their thanks for gifts of books from the following:—

Authors: C. A. Albenque, Dr. H. G. Beyen, A. A. Christophilopoulou, C. Clairmont, Professor O. Davies, Dr. C. Diehl, R. H. Dolley, V. Georgiev, G. Haddad, Professor C. F. C. Hawkes, W. M. Hugill, M. R. Hull, D. Kanatsoulis, G. B. Kerferd, W. F. J. Knight, N. M. Kontoleon, W. Lepik, M. A. Levi, H. Mattingly, J. A. Maurer, Professor Dr. G. Moravcsik, B. Pace, Professor L. R. Palmer, R. Paribeni, Professor L. J. D. Richardson, P. J. Riis, Professor L. Robert, Professor L. J. Rosan, L. Roussel, Dr. A. Rumpf, Dr. R. Strömberg, Dr. E. Swoboda, A. Van den Daele, R. Werner, R. Wilde, H. Zilliacus.

Other Donors: Professor N. H. Baynes, Dr. V. L. Ehrenberg, D. Gillie, D. B. Harden, W. R. Lefanu, Professor W. S. Maguinness, E. L. B. Meurig-Davies, Miss M. V. Taylor, Mrs. A. D. Ure.

The Presses of the following Universities: Cagliari, Cambridge, Chicago, Harvard, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Liverpool, Lodz, Oxford, Prague, Princeton, St. Louis, Wales.

Institutions: Académie polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Archaeological Institute of America, Archaeological Museums of Istanbul, British Institute at Ankara, Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, Institut français d'Athènes, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Society of Antiquaries, Virgil Society, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

The two Councils wish to thank Mrs. L. Bailey and the Rev. J. H. Hopkinson for gifts to the photographic collection, and Miss S. Benton for valuable help in the Photographic Department.



## BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31, 1949.

I have audited the above Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Account and in my opinion the same exhibit a true and correct view of the Society's financial position according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me and as shown by the books of the Society.

CYRIL T. ENGBL,  
Chartered Accountant.







	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Estimated Cost of Vol. LXIX—									
Printing and Paper .....	395	0	0						
Drawings and Engravings .....	75	0	0						
Editing and Reviews .....	20	0	0						
Postage and Packing .....	60	0	0						
„ Excess Cost of Vols. LXVII and LXVIII over Estimates .....				550	0	0			
				116	19	1			
				<u>£666</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>1</u>			
							<u>£666</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>1</u>

LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1949.

To Slides for Hire .....	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
„ <i>Balance to Income and Expenditure Account</i> .....	17	2	3	67	2	6
	<u>50</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>£67</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>

LIBRARY ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1949.

To Binding and Sundry Purchases .....	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
	92	0	2	38	0	9
	<u>£92</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>5</u>
By Receipts from Sale of Catalogues, Duplicates, etc. ....						
„ <i>Balance to Income and Expenditure Account</i> .....				£92	0	2

PREMISES ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1949.

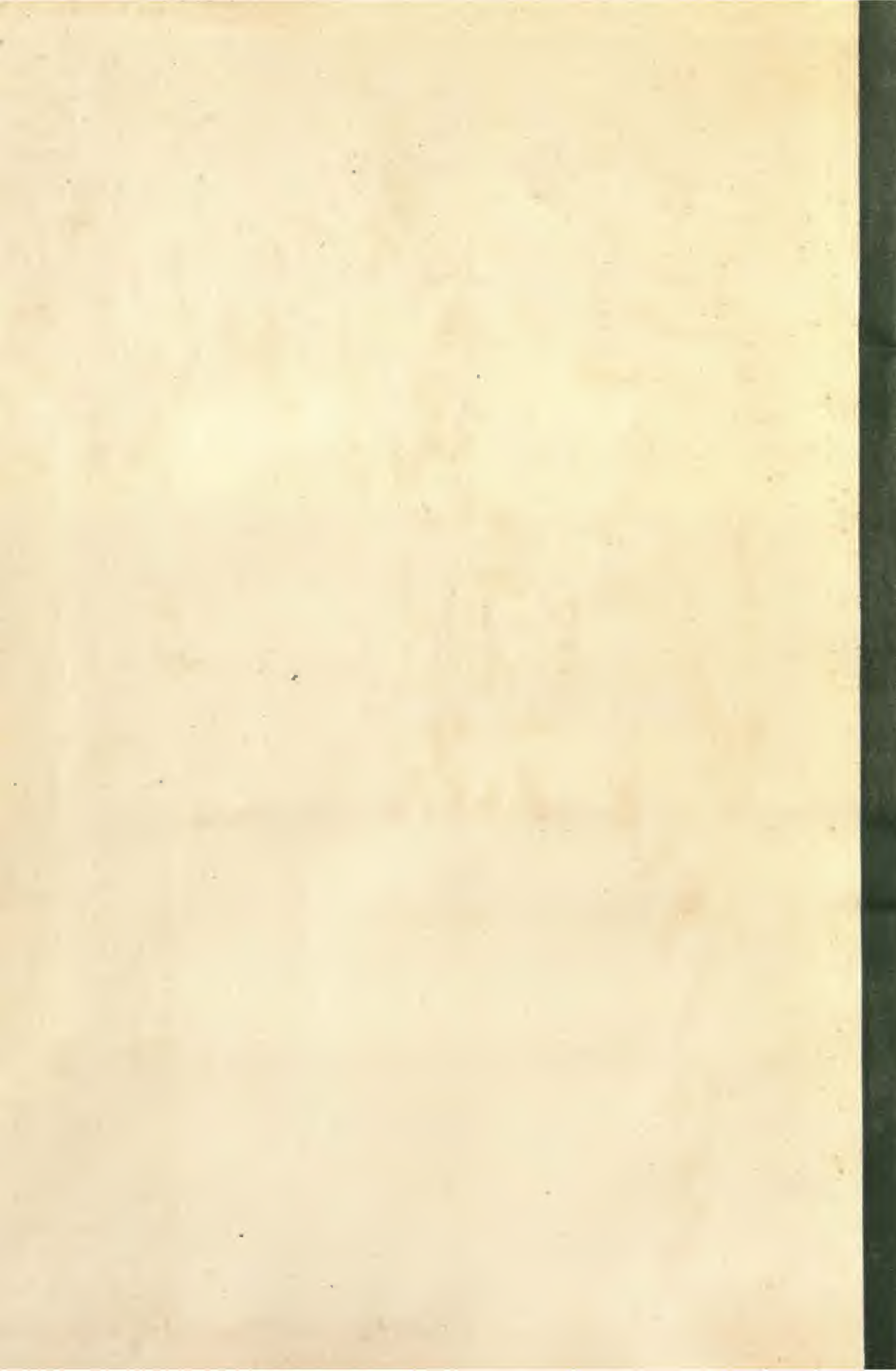
To Rent .....	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
„ Rates .....	408	8	0	70	0	0
„ Transfer from Balance Sheet—proportion of Expenditure for the year .....	225	11	3	631	0	0
„ <i>Balance to Income and Expenditure Account</i> .....	20	2	6			
	<u>46</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>£701</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>





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